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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

MARCH, 1946 - December 1946

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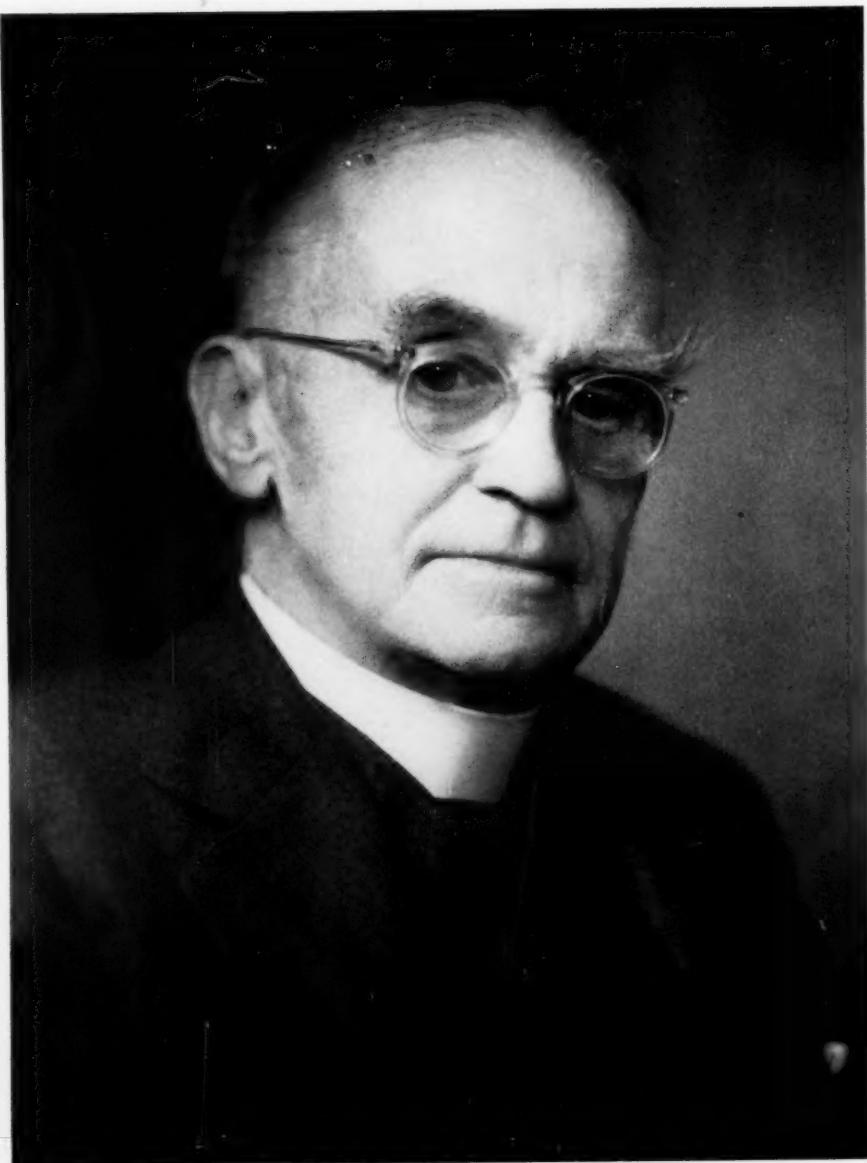
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E. Clowes Chorley

THE REV. E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D., L.H.D.
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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No. 1

EDITORIAL

With this number HISTORICAL MAGAZINE begins the fifteenth volume, fifteenth year, of continuous publication under the same Editor-in-Chief—the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the Church—who initiated its original authorization in the General Convention of 1931, and who has guided its destinies through the worst of world-wide depressions and through the most terrible of wars.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is unique among the publications of the Anglican Communion. Here, as in some other things, the American Church has been a pioneer, and not a follower. Over 5,000 pages of invaluable historical material have been published in its pages during the past fourteen years; many have had their interest in American Church history awakened or re-awakened; many bishops, presbyters and laymen have been stimulated to productive historical scholarship; and the many unsolicited letters which reach the Editor's desk testify to its value and usefulness to the Church.

Contemporaneously with the appearance of this first number of Volume XV of the Magazine will be published Dr. Chorley's Hale Lectures, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, originally delivered at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. This is Dr. Chorley's *magnum opus*, the fruit of many years of research and reflection; and we venture to prophesy that it will prove to be an epochal book among American Church histories. The reader is referred to Bishop Parsons' article on this work in this issue, but especially to the book itself.

In writing this editorial, in insisting upon reproducing Dr. Chorley's portrait as the frontispiece of this number, and in publishing Bishop Parsons' review of *Men and Movements* as the first article in this issue, the Associate Editors have unanimously overruled the objections of the Editor-in-Chief. In this particular instance of insubordination, our readers, we feel confident, will side with the Associate Editors.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON,
EDGAR L. PENNINGTON,
WALTER H. STOWE,
WILFRED R. H. HODGKIN,
DUBOSE MURPHY,
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THE HALE LECTURES

Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, by E. Clowes Chorley. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946.

A REVIEW

*By Edward L. Parsons**

Dr. Chorley has made a notable contribution to the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His narrative turns not on events but on persons; not on movements but on the men who lead the movements or who in some special way symbolize them. Furthermore it is an objective narrative. "The treatment throughout is purely historical, not critical," says the author in the preface. He has achieved both these purposes with marked success. It would be hard to tell after reading the book carefully just what his views may be. One learns readily enough that he is wide-minded, that he is sympathetic and understanding and that therefore whatever his views he is not partisan. But Jarratt and Meade and Griswold stand out no more vividly than Hobart and Ravenscroft and Whittingham. DeKoven is treated with the same admiration for his ability and courage as is Washburn or Brooks.

The narrative is objective and since it turns on persons necessarily overlooks much which would appear in an ordinary history. The growth of the Church, its constitutional and other changes, its missionary work, its concern with the unity movement and its influence so far as it has had any upon the life of the nation appear only incidentally. Indeed the scope of the book is pretty fairly limited to the typical personalities, in the struggle (a perennial struggle) of the various groups, schools of thought or, if you will, parties in the Church. If one wants to know about them, to share their views, to have an insight into what has concerned the leaders of Church life during a century and a half, here is the book. It is vital, interesting, revealing. The distinguished names become real persons.

One plunges at the start with Devereux Jarratt into the religious depression of the epoch of the Revolution. In spite of the Great Awakening and the later revivals, the state of religion in the colonies and in the

*Bishop of California, retired.

newly founded nation was appallingly bad. Morals were at a low ebb. Nowhere were they worse than in Virginia. It was there that Jarratt, who died in 1801, did his prophesying. It was there that with Meade and Moore the Evangelicals began to stir the dead. (Marshall thought the Church in Virginia too far gone to be revived.) Griswold carried the same stirring message to New England. Later came Chase and McIlvaine, Bedell, Lee, Wilmer and a host of others.

These men preached the need of a Saviour for souls utterly lost; the vicarious atonement as a satisfaction of divine justice and justification by faith. They accepted the Prayer Book in full, and the historical view of the ministry as expressed in the preface to the ordinal. They accepted likewise the sacraments as expounded in catechism and articles. Heaven and hell had a large place in their preaching. They sought to bring men to a personal religious experience. They were primarily concerned with souls. As "Churchmen" they were undoubtedly careless about architecture, believed that prayer meetings served a real purpose, recognized true ministries of God wherever the fruits of the spirit were found.

The early High Churchmen who came next into view also played a great part in awakening the dormant life of the Church. They are admirably pictured. Hobart, who left an indelible impress upon the life of the whole Church, stands first. A vigorous, impetuous, at times somewhat violent personality, he stormed up and down the great State of New York, preaching, to the consternation of many staid Churchmen, without notes, utterly unafraid to speak his mind, profoundly concerned with the education of the ministry—the General Seminary was his child—over-sensitive about the prerogatives of a bishop; but commanding the respect and admiration of all. Grouped with him are Ravenscroft coming late to his ministry, Whittingham going to Baltimore from the General Seminary, scholar and gentleman, Jarvis, Brownell, John Williams of Connecticut, Kip of California, H. U. Onderdonk, G. W. Doane and John H. Hopkins. Presbyterians like Breck and Adams and William Crosswell (the last was called "a Hooker, Ferrar and Herbert combined"), added lustre to the cause. It is a fine group of noble and devoted men.

What manner of Gospel did they preach? we ask. Their fundamental theology of salvation was much the same as that of the Evangelicals. Both built on the depravity of human nature, the sinfulness of man and his need of a Saviour. Both for the most part repudiated a Calvinism which would limit in any way the saving mission of Christ. "Christ died for all," says Hobart. Both stood adamant against the errors of Rome. Auricular confession, Mariolatry and invocation of saints had no place in their views. Baptism brought no magical change.

The Holy Communion was not a *sacrifice*, and "mass" was a term no Prayer Book Churchman should use.

What separated them from their Evangelical brethren was their deep concern for the Church as an institution. They believed that its threefold ministry was of our Lord's institution and the Church, so ordered, offered the appointed method of salvation. They *could* believe that saving faith in Christ is impossible where there is no communion with a bishop, but, as always in every group which holds such rigid views, the ignorance, misunderstanding and the like upon the part of heretics and schismatics were believed to extenuate their error. Protestant Churches are not part of the Catholic Church, but God may in his goodness and mercy save Protestants.

One cannot but think at times how lonely these High Churchmen were. They belonged to a small body which in 1850, for example, had one communicant to 235 of the population. On one side was Rome; on the other the Protestants; and only the Episcopalians were right. The Evangelicals had at least contacts with the Protestant world and rejoiced in their own Protestantism. All this Dr. Chorley brings out with apt quotations and a keen eye for the things that count.

Both these groups were fundamentalist in our modern phrase. They accepted the inerrancy of Scripture and believed their position could be proved from Scripture. They did not find it easy to work together. The "Clash and Conflict" (chapter X) became ominous with the growing influence of the Oxford Tractarian movement and as the author so well makes clear, the trouble cut across party lines, for men like Whittingham and Doane, greatly moved by Oxford, were outspoken in denunciation of Rome-ward tendencies, condemned Bishop Ives, who in 1852 went over to Rome, deplored the insidious Romanizing tendencies among some young clergy and seminarians. But in the main the perennial conflict still carried on as between high and low. It culminates in the ritual controversies of the 60's and 70's and the Reformed Episcopal schism.

Dr. Chorley has brought the story of the new Broad Church party into the picture before that of the so-called ritualistic controversies. There is obviously no fixed chronological order in these matters. The trends of thought run along side by side. It must be noted, however, that these Broad Churchmen never really constituted a party. The author quotes an admirable statement by Dr. Samuel McConnell to confirm the fact. What they did we may perhaps sum up in a paragraph.

They carry on the Hellenist tradition. Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought* is typical. They are descendants of Clement and Origen, of Abelard, Erasmus and More. To use a phrase of Matthew Arnold's

(son of one of the first of the 19th century Broad Churchmen) they are eager to "let intelligence play upon" these problems of religion. They believe that the revelation of God continues, that the Incarnation is its culmination but not its end, and that the Eternal Word still lights every man who comes into the world. They found, as Dr. Chorley points out, their contemporary inspiration in the English group of which Maurice, Robertson and Kingsley were the leaders. That group went back to Coleridge, the clue to whose most significant contribution lies perhaps in the phrase which Tulloch quotes, "The Evangelicals brought religion to man from the outside." Coleridge would bring it from within. So would Maurice and Robertson. They had no illusions about the sinfulness of man. Some of their followers did; but the principle they emphasized was that Christ comes not to restore something completely wrecked and lost, but something which sin had hidden, the real self. They appealed to men not with pictures of heaven and hell, but by recalling them to their real selves. "When he came to himself" was a favorite text. So paralleling the English movement we have in America Vinton and Washburn, Smith and Parks and the Cambridge scholars, who perhaps have not quite enough recognition in the book: Mulford, Allen and Nash. Towering above them all is Brooks, of whom it used to be said that in New England in the 80's and 90's no matter what church you entered, Episcopal or other, you heard him preach. The voice might be unfamiliar, but the sermon was Phillips Brooks.

As the Broad Church came into view and aroused apprehension upon the part of both Evangelicals and High Churchmen, the ritualistic controversies came to a head. The rise of the new Anglo-Catholic movement is the contributing cause. The controversies bring us into a tangled web of struggling parties, a tangle which Dr. Chorley untangles with admirable skill; but there was nothing tangled about these new prophets themselves. DeKoven, Ewer, Ritchie, all stand out clearly. DeKoven is unquestionably first in character and ability and in the extraordinary eloquence with which he presented his cause. He was a great educator and a great leader.

These men had moved a vast distance from Hobart. Their sacramental teaching was the center of their faith. They touched Rome. "The gong sounds," says Ritchie, "Jesus is coming." Again it sounds. "He has come." The Prayer Book is patient of many views, but the American Book is distinctly not patient of such a view. The book is Eastern, not Latin in its theology. But to go back to the controversy. These early leaders are followed by men like Prescott, Batterson, Maturin, Grafton and McGarvey, who for years figured in the forefront of controversy. But the matter came decisively to a head in the con-

ventions of the early 70's which tried to settle questions of vestments and ritual by canon. The Church discovered two things: The first was that it could not legislate successfully on these matters. The second that in any case it was the wrong way to go at it. It is significant, however, that the bishops' pastoral letter of 1871, noting the effect of ceremonial and deprecating certain advanced practices, was adopted unanimously. The bishops were not ready to support tendencies which looked too definitely to Rome.

It is during the period of this legislative controversy that we come to the "Passing of the Low Churchmen" (Chapter XIV). They went out with Cummins and his followers in the Reformed Episcopal schism. The story is admirably told. The futility of it all is clear enough to-day, but one can sympathize with these men who seemed to see everything for which they stood swept away. They did not know that they belonged to a past age.* And so we come to the last chapter, "The Present and the Future."

The book is really concerned with the nineteenth century. The sketch of the present is brief. The prophecy of the future is offered with the modest disclaimer of infallibility which has added to the charm of the entire book.

As regards the present the most obvious contrasts with the past are two. The violence of controversy has passed. The opponents in ecclesiastical duels no longer call each other seducers, traitors, and the like. Christian men are trying to understand one another better, and with this change has come the vanishing of the old parties. We have no longer High, Low, Broad and Modernist. We have instead two fairly distinct groups, the Anglo-Catholics and the Liberal Evangelicals. Dr. Chorley includes under the former the conservatives, the pro-Roman and the Liberal Catholics. He thinks the pro-Roman group, very definite in England, is very small in America. That may be true if we mean men who are openly working to bring the Episcopal Church back to submission to Rome. It is hardly true if we mean clergy (and a few laity) whose thoughts are always turning Romeward, to whom Rome's ways are a guide, whose ecclesiastical language is essentially "Latin" as distinguished from that of the great Anglican tradition.

Nor is it too certain that all the conservative High Churchmen would want to be called Anglo-Catholics. Except in the wider sense

*Note: In reference to Dr. Chorley's comment upon the validity of Dr. Cheney's consecration it should be noted that the late Bishop of Eau Claire (Dr. Wilson), acting in connection with reunion negotiations, put the fact of validity beyond question. His report was sent out to all bishops of the Anglican Communion, since the Lambeth Conference of 1888 had, in view of the adverse report of an American committee, left the matter in the air.

which includes all Anglicans. It is certain that not all the Liberal Evangelicals want to be called liberal. Indeed, their spearhead organization has dropped the word liberal and is called the Episcopal Evangelical Fellowship. At any rate it has no special monopoly of liberalism which is widespread and growing in the Liberal Catholic group. Dr. Chorley is certainly right that as all intelligent Evangelicals are essentially Anglo-Catholics so in these days all intelligent Anglo-Catholics are liberal and evangelical. It is the extremists who engage in unpleasant and often un-Christian controversy. Where intelligence and Christian love are dominant we have precisely what Dr. Chorley describes as two streams whose healing waters are "mingling and alike making glad the city of God." The "mingling" is a bit optimistic if we mean the working out of a theological position which both can accept, for there have always been these opposing types of thought. The difference is deep rooted. Doctrinal agreement which must be sought earnestly, can at this time mean only hopeful approximation. But "mingling" is not too optimistic if we mean working and worshipping together.

Such is the story of this 150 years as Dr. Chorley presents it to us. It is now the function of the reviewer, since the author disclaims any such attempt, to make some appraisal of its meaning in the life of the Episcopal Church and of its place in the larger life of Christianity.

We may begin then by emphasizing the truism that the Episcopal Church is not a small isolated group untouched by the world. Far from it. The whole story can be understood only as it is read in the light of the world background. The nineteenth century saw the last long struggle between the individualism which came to power with what we call the modern era and the collectivism which dominates the era upon which we have now entered. In church and state the dominant collectivism of the Middle Ages, the thinking in terms of the group, broke down upon men's demand for freedom. In the Renaissance as in the Reformation it was the individual who counted. For centuries men had looked to Church, to empire, to rulers, had read their destiny in terms laid down for them, had trusted it to the group, church, state, or community. Now they found *themselves*. They learned to trust themselves. They were concerned about themselves. Politically and ecclesiastically the whole great movement was spearheaded by the city man. It was bourgeois. It made the Industrial Revolution possible. It led up to the horrors of *laissez faire* (which, after all, were no worse than the steady misery of the peasant through the Middle Ages).

But in spite of its failures it was a magnificent period, which came to its climax in the imperialism of the late 19th century, but as that

century opened it was clear that a new age was being born. The pendulum was beginning to swing back. The demand of men for equilibrium would not be denied. Reaction from extreme individualism was inevitable. Ideals of collectivism began to creep into social thinking. Socialistic experiments began to appear. In literature the Romantic movement turned to the Middle Ages. Philosophy with Hegel as a protagonist saw the universe as a vast unfolding of universal reason and science brought the world of nature and of men into an organic unity through the doctrine of evolution. This movement was all infinitely accelerated later by the technical discoveries which have made the world one community whether men want it so or not.

But of that later. The point is that the individualism which had dominated the thought of men for so long was fighting (during the 19th century) its last struggle. It went out with the world wars. Men, tories everywhere excepted, think no longer of finding their freedom save within the community.

One small group, important for us Episcopalians, but small in the vast human family, shared the same fate. They were an early casualty. The great Evangelicals, the men whose concern was with souls, who spoke to individuals and warned them of the wrath to come, these men represented in the Church the last great struggle of the individualist. They were the Manchester School of the Church. They rendered great service. They woke the Episcopal Church. They "saved" thousands of men and women. But as a *school* they were fighting a losing battle.

It is precisely from the same underlying social conditions that the Tractarian movement arose in Oxford, and that in England, as in America, it found a quick response from men like Hobart, who had cherished a tradition which laid far greater stress on the collective or, let us say, in ecclesiastical terms the catholic aspect of Christianity. This came down through Hooker and the Carolinian divines who saw the Church as the nation worshipping God. One must always remember that within any great social movement there are always survivals or prophecies of other movements which had or may have validity for life.

The early High Churchmen and the later Tractarian moved from the group to the individual just as the Evangelical moved from the individual to the group. The Evangelical of the Episcopal Church did not think of it as a "gathered Church" in the modern sense. He believed it was organic, the Body of Christ. But it was, as it were, to be taken for granted. The vital matter was the atonement and justification by faith. The vital matter to Hobart was the Church, to make clear its meaning, its authority. He moved from the Church to the

individual. He found his freedom by accepting what the Church laid upon him. If that be true (and no one can offer interpretations of this kind in any dogmatic spirit), then the whole Catholic movement is expressing ecclesiastically the dominant social movement of the present age. One would expect to see the Reformed Episcopal Church live on only in a sort of vestigial fashion. One would expect to see Anglo-Catholicism grow. One would expect, as we shall note later, the world-wide unity movement.

But now as we think of the last century and its conflicts, what about the Broad Church group? We have suggested the fundamental principle on which these men worked. What they brought to the Church was of immeasurable importance. Just as the political and social sciences of the new age had, and still have, to fit into the problem of preserving freedom within the community, all the vast technological discoveries of that age, so some one had to fit into the ecclesiastical world all that historical and natural science had brought to men's thinking. It was the Broad Churchmen who did it. Like Colet and Erasmus they opened their minds to the new learning. They helped the Church to understand that evolution had not deprived God of His creative function and that historical criticism, destroying the doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture, has given us something immensely more valuable. They lifted theology above the proof-text level. They showed that the origins of ecclesiastical institutions are matters of history and not of theology, a lesson as yet by no means universally learned. By "letting intelligence play upon" the whole Church scene they helped to open ways by which Liberals Catholics and Liberal Evangelicals can come together and thus help the Episcopal Church or, let us say, the Anglican Communion to fulfil its destiny.

Dr. Chorley does not deal with this question in detail. He is content, as we have noted, to close with the hopeful prayer that in due time we may have a Church at unity in itself, Catholic, Evangelical and Liberal. But, true to his declared purpose, he leaves to reader (and reviewer) speculation on the conditions by which this unity may be won and on the relation of it all to total Christianity. If, then, we venture on that question our first move takes us back immediately to the relation of the parties within the Church to the underlying social movements of the epoch. We have noted the pendulum swing from the individualism, which came to dominance four centuries ago, to the new collectivism of today. The one emphasises freedom, the other community or social welfare. The extreme form of one is *laissez faire*, competitive capitalism, the ruthless grasp of individual group or nation for power. The extreme form of the other is the totalitarian state. There order,

authority, the institution stand first. Human society as it struggles along its hard journey toward the just state is always swinging toward one extreme or the other. It is always seeking equilibrium. That is to say that the social body always checks itself. The totalitarian state breaks down sooner or later. Men will have freedom. That is what these years of warfare have been telling us. But they have also said that freedom must be in community; it must be found in cooperation, in the life of total society, in the service of the common good. If in the name of the common good you try to stamp freedom out you will destroy the very society you have built. That is what always in the end happens to the Hitlers and Mussolinis.

It must be remembered also that while society as a whole swings one way and then another and every individual is conditioned by the whole body, yet it is individuals who make up the body and these individuals differ in their approach and attitude. We know them well. The conservative is concerned with the institution. The liberal is concerned with freedom. One man rejoices to see authority in action, is glad to accept authoritative decisions. Another rebels.

Turn to the Church and one finds in it the same story, the same kind of conflicts, the same kind of issues and the same conditions upon which any kind of permanent equilibrium may be based.

The Church is a society, a fellowship, an organic body which is the prophecy of the fellowship of all mankind. It is broken today as the world is broken. But like the world it is moving steadily to clearer understanding of its underlying unity. The unity movement in the Church parallels, is indeed part of the collective movement of society, and its problem is fundamentally precisely the same. It has to bring into one "outward and visible body" the conflicting interests of a thousand different groups. It has to subordinate those lesser loyalties to the wider loyalty of the whole body. It has to do this, giving full scope to men's demand for freedom. It must be social, collective, unified, but it must be free, diversified, rejoicing in the manifold life of personalities. It must, in other words, balance authority and liberty. It must bring together in one rich body the traditions of the elders and the surging rebellious demands of youth.

Real progress is being made. The change of tone in controversy which Dr. Chorley notes in the Episcopal Church is fairly universal. The association of the churches in various federations has revolutionized much of the Christian world. The World Council is slowly uniting in common work all non-Roman Christianity. Faith and Order and Life and Work, under the aegis of the World Council, study the questions of unity. The parallel to the secular world carries right through.

Just as at this moment the deepest and most searching question any nation has to ask is, how far must it go to make the unity of the world organization real, so the most searching question facing any church is precisely the same. That question is the ultimate test of its loyalty to Christ. The answer it makes measures its place in the Christian world. The answer it makes is in a certain sense determinative of its destiny.

What, then, are we to say of the Anglican Communion and its "parties"? The answer seems to be that of all the churches which are now moving closer together it has succeeded best in the solution of this old problem of authority and liberty. It has kept and loved the tradition of the elders. It has often frowned on the venturesome spirit of the prophet. It gave Wesley no welcome and balked at the opportunity offered here in America to hold his followers. But it did accept the Reformation. It did commit itself to essential freedom. It has always had its prophets. It has definitely brought together in common worship and organic ideals the two types of approach to all these problems. It has been genuinely Protestant and Catholic. In Muhlenberg's phrase, which Dr. Chorley quotes, the Church has been Evangelical Catholic.

All this is commonplace. Everybody knows it. But not everybody sees that in that union of opposites lies the sole justification for its existence as a Church. The Christian world of today is seeking unity. Its witness to Christ is badly obscured by its divisions. That unity can be found and preserved only in the balancing of authority and freedom, only (to put it in another way) in a freedom which is found within the whole body. The whole body is the Church of the past as well as of the present, the Church which preserves the eternal treasures of the past but accepts the new treasures of the present—new wineskins for the wine of the new age.

The Anglican Communion we have noted has actually succeeded in doing that somewhat better than any other body. It has recognized the fact and in a measure the responsibility which grows out of it. It has had perhaps more part in initiating the Ecumenical Movement than any other communion. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and the 1920 Appeal to All Christian People are noble declarations. The Faith and Order Conference, and on a more limited scale, the specific efforts in South India and here in America, are gallant steps in the right direction. But often when it comes to the point of action we draw back, we temporize, we forget that our catholic unity is not ours to keep but to give. Our destiny is to lose ourselves in the larger life of the Catholic Church of the future.

But we cannot give it unless we keep and understand it ourselves. If we are to do that, we need, beside clear thinking and profound de-

votion, the utmost humility. We can see without any very great call upon our intelligence that none of our systems lasts very long in its original form, that, as our author reminds us more than once, no one today approaches these ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions in the way men approached them one hundred years ago. Recognizing that it is an oversimplification, and recognizing likewise the profound importance of clear and constant theological thinking we can see also that what persists is actually two types of mind, two kinds of persons, two opposite points of departure. The systems growing from each if carried to the extreme reach the dead end. Rome at the moment has great prestige. But a fascist system, in spite of all the saintly souls that have been nourished within it, cannot live forever in a democratic world. On the other side it is clear that there is no permanence, no eternal validity in those types of free Christianity which have exulted in their freedom from the shackles of the past, and have lost all contact with the truth that Christianity is a fellowship with an organic visible life.

Out of such considerations we grow humble. We lose our cocksureness. We are ready to admit values on the other side and to catch glimpses of truth which do not perfectly fit our own system. Discussion of these debatable questions to the point of controversy is wholesome, for it is truth-producing. Often in any Church life decisions must be made which will hurt one group or another. But the only thing which endangers the Church is when one side claims to have all the truth and aggressively endeavors to exclude the other.

If we can live in humility with one another we shall want to bring into all our theological thinking more and more sensitiveness to the deeper meanings of the positions of others and to let our intelligence play upon them. In whatever way we figure it out and whatever we may choose to say of that old Broad Church group, we must have the "liberal" spirit which guided its leaders.

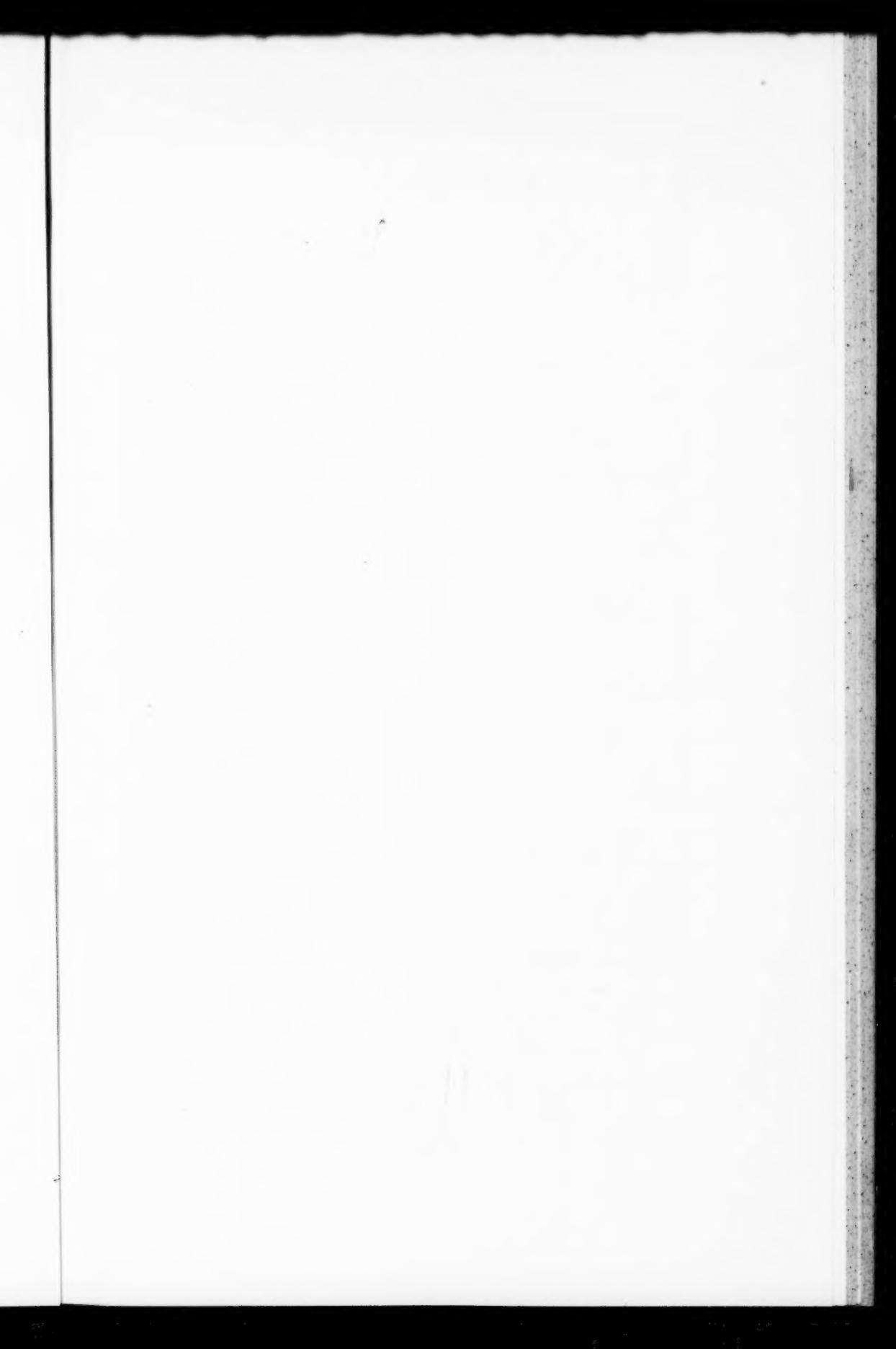
Indeed, one may venture a step further and suggest that that spirit is very closely associated with Coleridge's principle. It is abstract systems which make most of the trouble. Men are thinking of their theories and not of persons. They come at people from without not from within. The Barthian conception of revelation is a case in point just as Brunner's Divine-Human Encounter feels its way along from system to person. And that way is obviously the way of New Testament religion.

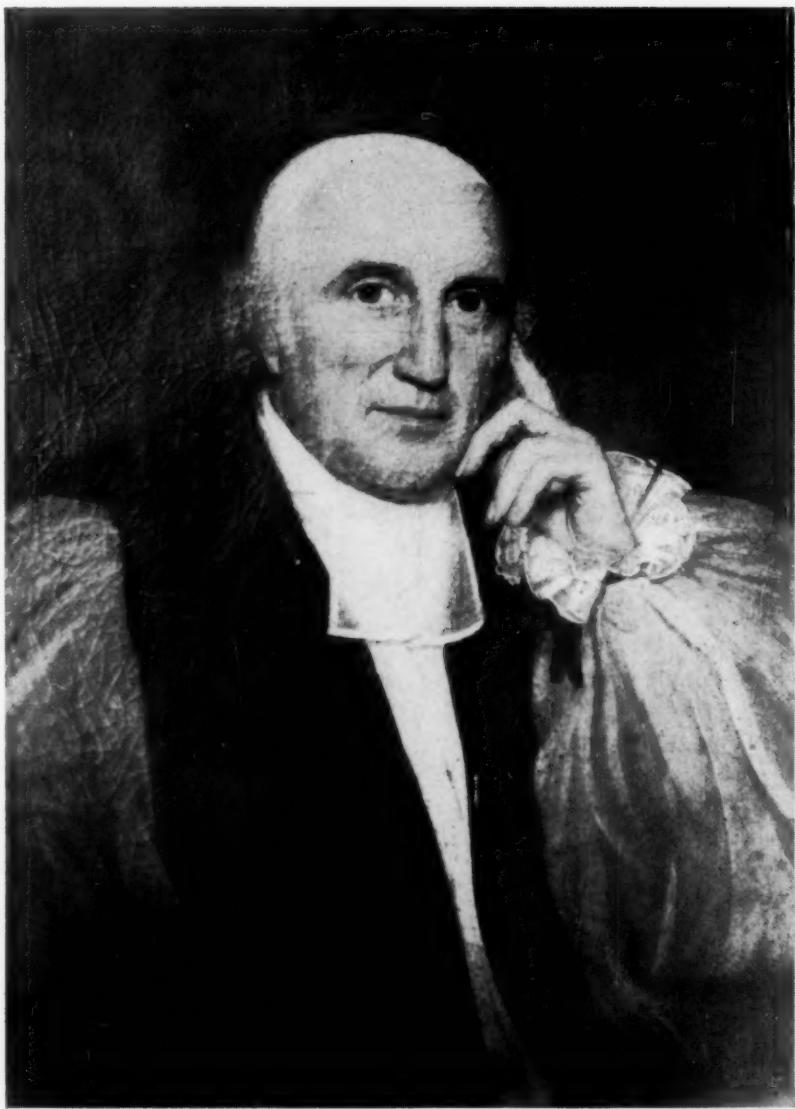
That is what Paul found in Christ. That is certainly the approach in the teaching of the Master. Indeed, it is in the words which the Fourth Gospel ascribes to our Lord himself that the Christian approach to all these problems is made clear. "I am the Way, the Truth and the

Life," says Jesus, and what does that mean other than that the truth which lives in his Personality far outweighs any abstract system of thought. If we all come to him, High Church and Low, Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic, and find in him our truth of life, no one of our systems can be final. Our widest catholicity cannot contain the fulness of Him in whom all things consist.

In that faith we worship God together. We work together. We picture in our small field the Catholic Church of the future in which all Christian men will have found their homes. With eagerness we turn to our destiny. That destiny is not fulfilled by sitting quietly in peace at home. It is fulfilled only as we surrender ourselves to the task of bringing to the divided Christian world the same kind of peace.

It seems almost inappropriate to say that with that word our review ends. It ended pages back. We have gone on far beyond the scope of Dr. Chorley's work. Yet perhaps that fact itself is the best tribute any reviewer can pay to any book. The work has been well done when it stimulates thought, opens questions and reveals the secrets of the future in the story of the past. Some such experience is sure to come to any one who reads this book.





Courtesy of William Ives Rutter, Jr.

THE RT. REV. ROBERT SMITH, D.D.

AUGUST 25, 1732—OCTOBER 28, 1801

DEACON: MARCH 7, 1756; PRIEST: DECEMBER 21, 1756

**FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA
SEPTEMBER 13, 1795—OCTOBER 28, 1801**

THE SIXTH IN THE AMERICAN SUCCESSION

ROBERT SMITH—FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA

*By Albert Sidney Thomas, S. T. D.,**

From the time of his election as rector of St. Philip's Church, Charles Town, until his death in 1801, Robert Smith was the leading figure in the life of the Church in South Carolina. He was born August 25, 1732, in the parish of Worstead, County of Norfolk, England, of "respectable parents." After careful preparation he was entered as a commoner at Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge. His education proceeded under the liberal patronage of William Mason, Esq., M. P. Having taken his bachelor's and master's degrees, he was elected to a fellowship and continued at Cambridge until he was ordained deacon by the bishop of Ely on March 7, 1756, and priest on December 21 following. While still in England, on nomination of Mr. Mason, he was engaged as assistant minister of St. Philip's Church. He arrived in Charles Town on November 3, 1757.¹ On his arrival in the city he was presented by the vestry with £200 currency as a mark of their esteem. During all the eventful years of his connection with St. Philip's until his death this esteem continued and developed.

At the time of Mr. Smith's arrival the royal province of South Carolina had attained the highest tide of its prosperity. The colony was something of a favorite with the Crown, its loyalty was unquestioned, the people were devoted to the mother country. The colony was well governed; and, notwithstanding the wars, the storms, the pestilences, it increased in numbers and grew rich. Josiah Quincy, who visited Charlestown about this time, testifies, "This town makes a most beautiful appearance as you come up to it, and in many respects a magnificent one, . . . I can only say in general that in grandeur, splendor of buildings, decorations, equipages, numbers of commerce, shipping, and indeed in almost everything it far surpasses all I ever saw or expected to see in America."² McCrady says, "The society of Charlestown was in a more developed condition, perhaps, than that of any city in America—unless it was that of Philadelphia."³ Provision was

*Retired Bishop of South Carolina.

¹*An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, by Frederick Dalcho. (Charleston, 1820), p. 214. Hereafter referred to as *Dalcho*.

²*History of South Carolina under Royal Government*, by Edward McCrady (New York, 1899), p. 395.

³*Ibid.*, p. 539.

made for the education of both the rich and the poor. The children of the more opulent were educated in England. So it was that most of the great leaders in the state at this time and during and after the Revolution were graduates of English universities. This custom undoubtedly operated against the establishment of any college in South Carolina before the Revolution. The standard of scholarship in Charlestown was asserted to be higher than that of any other city on the continent.⁴

The Church in the province was also well established at the time of Mr. Smith's arrival. The eight parishes of the Church Act of 1706, which established the Church of England in South Carolina, had grown to twenty. Many even of the country parishes had substantial and imposing church buildings. In fact the Church in South Carolina had become so strong that in 1766 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was enabled to withdraw its assistance from the colony to which it had sent more missionaries than to any other province in America save New York.⁵

The Church in the city, which had been St. Philip's Parish, had so grown that a second parish was established in 1751, and St. Michael's Church was in course of erection when Mr. Smith arrived. Both of these city parishes usually had assistant ministers. Rev. Richard Clarke was the rector of St. Philip's at this time, but in a little more than a year, he resigned and Mr. Smith was elected rector. Thus at a very early age he assumed a position of very great responsibility as rector of the mother parish, and much the largest, of the colony. Of St. Philip's Church building at this time a contemporary writer (Woodmason, 1766) says, "This Church is allowed to be the most elegant religious edifice in British America."⁶ "The celebrated Edmund Burke, speaking of this Church says, it is spacious and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding everything of that kind which we have in America."⁷ Woodmason says, "The great organ has sixteen stops, the choir organ eight. It is well ornamented; has rich pulpit cloths, and coverings for the altar, and a very large service of plate." He adds interestingly, "The people of South Carolina, in general, may be said to be a sensible and moral people. Divine service is performed in the Country Churches on Sunday morning only. All Churches have a service of plate. Surplices worn only in the three towns." The bishop of London had had no commissary in the colony for many years when

⁴*History of South Carolina Under Royal Government*, by Edward McCrady (New York, 1899), p. 495.

⁵*Digest S. P. G. Records, 1701-1892*, p. 87.

⁶*Historical Address*, by J. J. Pringle Smith, Charleston, 1876. Appendix.

⁷*Dalcho*, p. 122. This was the second St. Philip's Church. The first was built about 1680-81, on the site of present St. Michael's. The second was destroyed by fire in 1835. The third on same site is even more handsome than the second.

Smith began his ministry in St. Philip's.⁸ This naturally added to the responsibilities of the rector of the mother parish.

An early event which had a distinct bearing upon Mr. Smith's position and influence was his marriage to Elizabeth Paget, the daughter and heiress of Francis Paget. "A romantic story is told of his first landing in Charleston Town,—Robert Smith was a very handsome young man; and, as he walked along the Bay, Miss Paget saw him from her window, and then and there made up her mind that he was the man she wished to marry." They were married on July 9, 1759. He thus became a sharer in a large estate. So, under favoring conditions and with broad responsibilities did Mr. Smith begin his long ministry. The young rector entered at once upon his duties and immediately began to fulfil expectations through active service. He was possessed of just those attributes of character which qualified him to meet his opportunities—broad in human sympathy, attractive in personality, with a good share of wit, wise, and withal of outstanding ability. These were just the qualities that enabled him to guide the Church through a tempestuous period, amidst many adverse conditions, into final union with the General Convention. Dalcho testifies, "He was the active and efficient friend of his professional brethren, in less favored circumstances of life, and there is abundant testimony on the records of the annual meetings of the clergy, that during many years, he was foremost in the arduous duty of supplying vacant parishes and thus comforting and animating them under afflictive dispensations of Providence, which often bereaved them of useful and beloved ministers."⁹

Early in 1768, his health having become impaired, and with a desire to visit his aged mother, he applied to the vestry for their consent to go to England. This was readily given, in fact urged upon him; the vestry "Sincerely hope that he will through the Divine Goodness be enabled to return to his charge in health by Christmas."¹⁰ It was not to be so soon; although for the parish, he made good use of his time while in England by securing as assistant minister for St. Philip's, Rev. Robert Purcell. Mr. Smith remained in England nearly two years. His duties during his absence were discharged by the ministers of St. Michael's Church until Mr. Purcell's arrival.

On his return from England, Mr. Smith entered with renewed zeal upon the discharge of his duties as rector. He was active in the conduct of the parish school for Negroes until for lack of suitable

⁸South Carolina had three commissioners: Rev. Gideon Johnson, 1707-1716; Rev. W. T. Bull, 1716-1723; Rev. Alexander Garden, the last, 1726-1747.

⁹Dalcho, p. 215

¹⁰Minutes, St. Philip's Vestry, March 17, May 2, 1768.

teachers it was discontinued in 1764. In 1774 we find him desiring of the vestry that the Negroes owned by the parish be sold and the money put at interest. Mr. Smith was a leader in the founding, April 21, 1762, of "The Society for the Relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of South Carolina." This Society still survives and is, next to one in Virginia, the oldest society of the kind in America.

Mr. Smith's first wife, Elizabeth Paget, died in 1771 without issue. He inherited her entire large estate, including Brabant Plantation of 3,600 acres in St. Thomas' Parish. Brabant was Mr. Smith's country seat and residence when his duties permitted his absence from the city.¹¹ The large means acquired through his first marriage was generously administered often for the benefit of the less favored of his brethren of the clergy and others as well as also for public causes. The confidence generally reposed in him led to his being called often to act as executor of estates as well as guardian of numerous helpless orphans. He was a man of many interests. When Charleston fell to the British in 1780 he was exiled to Philadelphia, and all his property was sequestered by order of Sir Henry Clinton. Brabant was used by Cornwallis as his headquarters on the east side of the Cooper River. The extent of Mr. Smith's holdings is revealed by an advertisement in the *Charles Town Gazette* after the Revolution demanding the return of his property and that of others for which he was responsible, including all sorts of household furniture as well as live stock and other property. The British had been very generous in distributing his property to neighbors favoring their cause. In 1774 Rev. Mr. Smith married his second wife, Sarah Shubrick, who died in 1779, leaving as issue Sarah Motte Smith, who married General John Rutledge, son of the distinguished John Rutledge, president of South Carolina and first governor of the State of South Carolina. Mr. Smith's third wife was Anna Maria Tilghman (widow of Charles Goldsboro of Talbot, Maryland), daughter of Colonel Edward Tilghman and Elizabeth Chew. The children of this marriage were: Elizabeth, who died young; Robert, who married Elizabeth Mary Pringle; William Mason, who married Susanna Pringle, and Anna Tilghman, who died young. Mr. Smith's descendants have been prominent in South Carolina history. They include H. A. M. Smith, judge of the Federal Court for many years and historian; also the historian, Mr. D. E. Huger Smith, and his daughter, Miss Alice R. Smith, the dis-

¹¹*Baronies of S. C.*, H. A. M. Smith, *S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, January, 1917, pp. 34-35. See also John B. Irving's *A Day on Cooper River* (Mrs. Stoney's Enlargement), p. 130, for story of how Mauder, an Irishman, saved the Church plate and Mr. Smith's silver and how Mr. Smith provided for him for the residue of his days.

tinguished water-colorist, and Mr. J. J. Pringle Smith, the owner of Middleton Place on the Ashby with its beautiful gardens.

At the beginning of the difficulties with the mother country Mr. Smith was loyal to the crown. However, it was not long before he was found warmly espousing the cause of the colony. When hostilities began and Sir Peter Parker with his fleet attacked Charles Town, the rector of St. Philip's served in the ranks as a private in the defending army. Later he occupied the position of chaplain-general to the southern department of the continental army. Garden, in his *Anecdotes*, says he "shouldered his musket and amidst scenes of greatest danger, both by precept and example, stimulated to intrepid resistance." He preached a sermon before the Commons House of Assembly, February 17, 1775, for which he received the thanks of that body in these words, "The readiness, Sir, with which you complied with the request of the people; and the suitable manner in which you acquitted yourself, carry the strongest evidence that, no illiberal, narrow principles influence your conduct, but, on the contrary, that you are actuated by a truly benevolent heart, and a real love for mankind; the good and welfare of whom, is the ultimate end of all institutions, religious as well as civil."¹² There can be little doubt that it was the influence of Mr. Smith which explains in no small measure the unique record of the clergy of South Carolina as compared with those of the other colonies in the Revolution,—fifteen out of twenty adhered to the cause of America and remained at their posts of duty.

When Charles Town was finally captured by the British in 1780, Mr. Smith, with other leading citizens of the city, was banished to Philadelphia. During his exile in the middle states lasting three years he had charge of St. Paul's Parish, Queen's County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. This sojourn in the north, through knowledge acquired and friendships formed, widened his interest in the Church in America and determined in large measure the character of his leadership when he returned to South Carolina, uniting the Church in cooperation with the rest of the country and leading it finally in the face of many difficulties, into union with the General Convention. His return home in 1783 was the occasion of great rejoicing by all the inhabitants of South Carolina.

The view that met the eyes of this servant of God on his return from exile was in great contrast to that which greeted him when he first set foot on the soil of Carolina twenty-six years before. A revolution had indeed taken place. Then, under circumstances as related above, he had entered into the life of a happy province of the British

¹²*Dalcho*, p. 219.

Empire, and was soon, though a young man, to take a leading position in the Church. Now a very different prospect presented itself. The state was in a confused and depressed condition. More battles of the Revolution had been fought in South Carolina than in any other state and the people had suffered more. The social and political homogeneity, never very strong in the state because of the contrasting elements of Scotch-Irish in the up-country and Cavalier in coastal regions, was badly disrupted, a condition augmented by the fact that toryism had continued strong through the war, increasing dissension and confusion. A sense of unjust treatment through taxation, now greatly increased by the waging of war upon it by England, had developed, in the place of the old love of the mother country, a feeling of deep antipathy to everything English.

The ecclesiastical view was equally discouraging. The Church, once in a position of power and prestige, had suffered greatly from the weakening influences of the Revolution. Many churches were in ruins, the people were poor and life was unsettled. The clergy supply which had come entirely from England was now cut off and more and more of the parishes became vacant. Disestablishment in 1778 brought on a critical situation in clerical support. It was a real problem with people who were accustomed to look to the state for clergy support and who were now poor. Plans were promptly made for the support of the clergy and were successful in Charles Town, but lagged in the country parishes.

The returned rector, not disheartened, addressed himself without delay to repairing broken-down fences. St. Philip's had been kept open continuously during his absence by Rev. Charles Moreau. In view of the financial depression, we find him with characteristic generosity offering to supply himself a home if the vestry would make necessary repairs. A little later, with the spirit of a reformer, he secured action by the vestry abolishing all fees received by the rector excepting only "marriages and citations"—in lieu there would be an allowance of so much per annum.¹³ This became the general rule in the diocese. His own estate, which had been sequestered, plundered, and scattered by the British, was demanding attention, as well as the personal affairs of wards for whom he was responsible. His problems and duties at this time were manifold and pressing.

These could not deter him from following his interest in education. Always had this been a concern to him, whether it was the maintenance of the school for Negroes which he found when he came to the parish, or the securing of funds for the University of Pennsylvania. The prevailing need for educational facilities in the city, Dalcho states, as well as

¹³Minutes, Vestry of St. Philip's, June 2, 1783, and September 14, 1794.

his own pecuniary condition, led to his opening a classical academy in the rectory on Glebe Street in the city. The building still stands. The school attained a high reputation, only the best qualified teachers being employed. An old writer comments that Mr. Smith "at the head of the clergy . . . made himself useful by keeping the best school in the city."¹⁴ In the meantime was inaugurated a movement to establish a municipal college in this city. Such a college was conceived before the Revolution, but it was in 1785 that the first meeting of the trustees of the College of Charleston was held, including Mr. Smith, who was present. In February of the following year he was elected the first president of this body. It was not, however, until 1790 that he offered to merge his academy into the college and yield to it his sixty pupils. This plan was adopted and was the real beginning of this institution, the oldest municipal college in the United States. Mr. Smith lent out of his private means a considerable sum to prepare the buildings. This loan was not fully repaid to his estate until twenty years later. Though the college had an earlier conception, in the sense of making it an actuality Mr. Smith may be called the founder of it. He was the first president of the board of trustees and the first principal of the college. Mr. J. Harold Easterby, the historian of the college, says of Mr. Smith, "Tradition represents him as a hearty, generous man, who understood life." "He presided over the college," wrote one of his former students, "with great dignity and address, and had more power over boys than anyone in a similar capacity whom I have ever known, although never severe or morose."¹⁵ One of the first six graduates of this college was John Callahan, once rector of St. Marks-in-the-Bowerie, New York, and another was Nathaniel Bowen, third bishop of South Carolina, who lived with Mr. Smith while a student. His duties as rector and bishop as well as principal becoming too heavy, he resigned the principalship in 1798. The degree of doctor in divinity was bestowed upon him in 1789 by the University of Pennsylvania.

But we must return to Mr. Smith in his ecclesiastical duties. We have seen something of the difficulties he encountered after the Revolution, but it was due to him more than to any other that the prestige lost by disestablishment and through the trials of war began in some measure to be restored.

As we approach the difficult period of the erection of the Church in South Carolina into a diocese and the organization of the General Convention, it becomes important to note certain developments and characteristics of the Church in this province. We must begin with the twice-told tale of the lack of a bishop in colonial days. As Commissary

¹⁴*Reminiscences*, E. S. Thomas, p. 38.

¹⁵*College of Charleston*, J. Harold Easterby, *in loco*.

Garden wrote to the bishop of London in the middle of the century, the churches were still without "so essential a part of their being as that of a bishop or bishops personally presiding over and governing them; in their present condition certainly without a parallel in the Christian Church in any age or country, from the beginning."¹⁶ It is true that the Church here in colonial days was not entirely acephalous; it was under the bishop of London, who was represented for part of the time by commissaries; also there were yearly visitations or meetings of the clergy which brought them together at least annually from 1731 to 1770. There was, however, no exercise of episcopal jurisdiction in any proper sense. As early as 1704, the Assembly, having difficulty with a contumacious rector¹⁷ of St. Philip's, in order to deal legally with such cases and generally to administer clerical discipline, passed an act creating a lay commission for this purpose. Such usurpation of authority by the laity over the clergy was a new thing. The law was declared to be an invasion upon the spiritual authority of the bishop of London and an interference by the Assembly with a matter over which they had no control. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel determined that they would send no more missionaries to Carolina until the obnoxious law was abolished. The queen declared the law null and void and the Assembly was thus forced to recede and repeal the act. The lay commission, however contrary to canon law, was founded on an existing need, and it is hard in some measure not to sympathize with the Assembly. The repealing of this act did not stop the development of usurpation of authority by the laity in the Church, which in some measure continues to this day. The vestries to all intents and purposes constituted the ultimate authority in Church life. The rector was not a member of the vestry and when he did attend it was by invitation. He was really a hired man who could be dismissed at the pleasure of the vestry. The absence of proper episcopal authority from the first can explain the situation. It was a development, however, fraught with danger. Thus we see in South Carolina the opposite of that exclusive claim to authority by the clergy in Connecticut. There may have been an inward protest by the clergy, but as a rule they seem to have calmly accepted the order of things.

After the storm of the Revolution had subsided, results appeared deeply affecting the Church which no longer had even the mild cohesion supplied by allegiance to the canons of the Church of England. Really the parishes were adrift. "Out of the contest and the events which had led to it, there had grown a strong, even bitter antipathy to many of

¹⁶*Historical Address*, Smith, quoted above, p. 107.

¹⁷Rev. Edward Marston, *Dalcho*, p. 58.

the institutions of Great Britain, and a keen jealousy of all forms supposed to be akin to them. Especially was this the case in South Carolina Hence came increased exasperation and bitterness. The Church partook of the effects of this apprehension and jealousy of everything resembling establishment under the crown, or seeming to savour of the government just thrown off.¹⁸ Bishop Howe goes so far as to say that, "In the minds of some of our own people, immediately after the war, a Bishop was little better than a '*monstrum horrendum*.'"¹⁹ Having nowhere to look for authority in the Church, the parishes were more than ever thrown back upon themselves. Dr. John Kershaw, late rector of St. Michael's Church, writing of the period says: "Here is the spirit of Congregationalism incarnate. It illustrates how jealously the Churchman of that day guarded the rights of their respective parishes as independent factors in whatever association or federation they might form. The idea of their organic union in the Church, whether in South Carolina or in the United States, had not dawned upon them, and while the idea has since taken root and borne fruit to some extent, the principle of parochialism still prevails in considerable degree and there is no general realization of the Church being 'one body,' though composed of many members."²⁰

Such then was the situation in South Carolina when Mr. Smith received a communication from the preliminary convention which met in New York in October, 1784, inviting South Carolina to organize itself and send delegates to the proposed General Convention. He laid this before a joint meeting of the vestries of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, from which meeting went out a call for the first diocesan convention in South Carolina. This met May 12 and adjourned to July 12, 1785. Our purpose now in connection with these diocesan and General Conventions is only to call attention to the part played by Mr. Smith. Dalcho says, "It was through the unwearied exertions of his [Smith's] sound and judicious zeal, that they [the various parishes] were to associate in a state convention, from which delegates were sent to the earliest General Convention held at Philadelphia, for the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."²¹ To appreciate the difficulty of his leadership as well as the greatness of it, we need only recall the conditions described above—the spirit of parochialism, political passions, the long developed jealousy of authority by the laity. As a matter of fact the laity of this diocese never conceded

¹⁸*Historical Address*, Smith, quoted above, p. 106.

¹⁹Centennial Convention Sermon, Rt. Rev. W. B. W. Howe, D. D., bishop of South Carolina, *Journal of convention of South Carolina, 1890*, p. 123.

²⁰Manuscript History in Archives of Diocese of South Carolina.

²¹Dalcho, p. 217.

to the clergy any *ex-officio* right to vote in convention for a great many years. Even in the twenty-sixth convention, that of 1814, an *ex-officio* (*sic*) right was only gingerly conceded on condition the clergy present a certificate signed by a majority of the vestry or other "authority" of the congregation giving consent that they "exercise such rights in the absence of their lay delegate or delegates"²² Bishop Howe remarks: "Here in South Carolina as in Puritan Massachusetts 'my Lord Brethren' are paramount."

Smith's leadership is illustrated in the third convention of the diocese, April 26, 1786. The convention was considering the constitution adopted by the General Convention, in Philadelphia in September, 1785. All the eleven rules and the resolutions were agreed to in the main with one exception. It was the action on this point that has given rise to the oft repeated statement that South Carolina refused at the first to have a bishop. Certainly there is a measure of truth in the statement, but we must weigh the facts for the measure of truth in its bearing on the leadership of Mr. Smith. The action has often been misconstrued. It should not be overlooked that South Carolina fully from the first accepted the ministry in its threefold order.²³ When the convention came to Rule 5, a critical moment arrived, fraught with serious consequences for the Church in South Carolina, as also for its unity and integrity in the United States. The action was, "Objected to; so far as relates to the settlement of a bishop in South Carolina. But recommend that the word *State* be inserted between the words *respective* and *Conventions*."²⁴ There was a doubt in the mind of the convention as to whether the General Convention intended itself to elect bishops and settle them in the states. The convention was not ready to give up the ancient right of dioceses to elect their own bishops. Nor was the convention apparently ready to agree to bishops at all in South Carolina, in view of its fears concerning their character and administrative authority as the episcopate then existed in England—there was no constitution defining their powers. It was Rev. Robert Smith who saved the day by proposing and securing the adoption of the above action. As to the second clause of the objection, the rule as finally adopted by the General Convention in 1789 was in the form suggested by South Carolina. It turned out to be a groundless fear. As to the first and more serious determination in the first clause, time was gained for passions to cool and opinions to form that the office of bishop is not inherently contrary to democratic institutions. The laity in the conven-

²²*Journal*, twenty-sixth convention (1814), *Dalcho*, p. 530. The journals of the early conventions in South Carolina are printed in *Dalcho*.

²³*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 474.

²⁴*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 469.

tion, it should be noted, were often the same able and liberty loving men who took part in the writing of the constitution of the United States. The compromise thus deferring of the "establishing of a bishop in South Carolina," introduced by the very man who would have been elected bishop, had the intended effect and the day was saved. The essence of the matter was that South Carolina wanted a bishop for ordaining and confirming, but they were not willing to take the risk of episcopal jurisdiction.

This action of the convention was not the end of the matter. In the eleventh convention of the diocese, October 16, 1794, when the subject of giving the bishops a negative on the proceedings of the clergy and laity in General Convention, came before the state convention, the unanimous opinion of the convention was that no such power should be granted.²⁵ Feeling grew very strong. It was even suggested that schism might follow, and, therefore, immediate action should be taken to secure the consecration of a bishop that the Church be not left without power to ordain much needed clergymen and to confirm. No action, however, was taken in this convention, nor was the circular letter to the churches embodying this motive, which was sent out following this convention, ever authorized by the convention. The next year, on February 10, 1795, Robert Smith was unanimously elected the first bishop of South Carolina. His consecration took place at the next following General Convention in Philadelphia, September 13, 1795, by Presiding Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Provoost, Madison and Claggett. He was the sixth bishop in the American succession. After his election and consecration as bishop, Dr. Smith continued as rector of St. Philip's.^{25 1-2}

When his name with his credentials of election came before the bishops in General Convention, the presiding bishop, who had received a copy of the circular letter referred to above, laid this letter before the bishops.²⁶ On instruction he inquired of Dr. Smith, who stated that the convention had not adopted the principles enunciated in the circular letter. The matter ended there. Bishop White states, "There existed no evidence to the contrary, nor have there been any subsequently received to that effect."

It can scarcely be claimed that South Carolina had then any full conception of the episcopal office in the Church in its jurisdictional as well as its spiritual power residing in one whose duty is to "administer the godly discipline thereof;" nor is it altogether so today in this diocese. If it could have been foreseen in South Carolina that the American epis-

²⁵ *Journal*, 1794, *Dalcho*, p. 480.

^{25 1-2} The four first bishops of South Carolina were at the same time rectors of either St. Philip's (Smith, Gadsden) or St. Michael's (Dehon or Bowen).

²⁶ *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Wm. White, D. D., 1820, p. 218.

copate was to be constitutional, the story might have been different. It cannot be doubted that it was the wisdom and personality of Mr. Smith which, humanly speaking, saved the Church in its essential integrity in South Carolina.

We must now consider Mr. Smith's part in the early General Conventions. He was active and, especially in that of 1786, a leader. Here again he found himself in a storm center. His convictions were too deep and his concern for a unified American Church too great to allow him to keep silence. He declined his election to the first General Convention "from the peculiar situation of his family." He had, therefore, no direct part in the setting forth of the Proposed Book of Common Prayer. He was, however, chairman of a committee of the convention of South Carolina suggesting a long list of changes in the Proposed Book.²⁷ Bishop White's statement "In South Carolina, the book was received without limitation," is, therefore, incorrect.²⁸ South Carolina, represented by Mr. White and General John Rutledge, supported the movement in the General Convention of 1786, which restored the "descent" clause in the Creed.

The convention of South Carolina sought to make sure that Mr. Smith would attend the General Convention of 1786 by providing "eighty guineas toward defraying" his expenses. For his part in this convention he has been classed as a "radical"²⁹ and elsewhere as "the pertinacious Robert Smith."³⁰ If by these terms is meant in the one case "thorough-going" and in the other "tenacious," we can assent; but if the meaning intended (as we suppose) is "extreme" and "stubborn," we must dissent from such description of "our gentle first bishop." His fault, in much current writing, is that he stood with Dr. Provoost against the recognition of the validity of ordinations by Dr. Seabury. Whether at this time there is or is not any question as to the regularity and validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration,³¹ I shall not discuss; but it was evidently a matter not readily disposed of in the circumstances of that day. It would scarcely have required a "radical" under all the circumstances to question the action in Connecticut. Bishop Seabury had been elected by a small group of clergymen, who had gone ahead without the presence of any laymen and elected as bishop a man of tory record, who had been a chaplain in the British army during the war and who remained a pensioner of the British government. Furthermore, his consecration had been by bishops of the small proscribed Episcopal Church of Scot-

²⁷*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 471.

²⁸*Memoirs*, p. 118.

²⁹See W. H. Stowe, "The Scottish Episcopal Succession and the Validity of Bishop Seabury's Orders," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. IX (December, 1940), pp. 322-348.

³⁰Perry's *History of the American Church*, 1885, Vol. II, p. 44.

³¹W. H. Stowe, *op. cit.*

land. It must have appeared to many as a matter at least of questionable wisdom for the Church in the leading states to accept this action, and so allow the Episcopal Church in America, at the very beginning of its independent life, to take color from this procedure. And this, too, when the application for the regular succession of the Church of England was pending and a matter evidently of grave concern. It has been stated that Bishop Seabury's consecration hastened the consent from England. Possibly this is true, but it is extremely doubtful whether the leaders of the Church at that time, before the consent was given, thought that it would have such an effect.

Fortunate it was from the standpoint of results achieved, that the resolutions sponsored by Dr. Provoost and Mr. Smith openly challenging Bishop Seabury's consecration were sidetracked. However, it should not be overlooked that of the two resolutions which Drs. William Smith and William White, the chief leaders, "allowed" to pass, one was moved by Dr. White himself and seconded by Mr. Robert Smith, and only the other was moved by Mr. Smith.³² Dr. Wilson, in his memoir of the life of Bishop White, calls this latter resolution a "prudent precaution."³³ The effect of these resolutions was at least for the time being to check the unlimited exercise of Bishop Seabury's authority in America, (he had ordained clergymen for service beyond New England), and thereby in the long run they tended very probably to preserve the unity and good order of the Church. It should be carefully noted that Mr. Smith accepted the defeat of the first two resolutions with good grace, and that the two other resolutions (Dr. White's, which he seconded, and his own) were adopted unanimously. This course of events in which Mr. Smith had such a leading part was probably in the end the best thing for the future unity and acceptance of the Church in democratic and liberty loving America. It is almost certain that this positive stand in the matter contributed reflexively in no small measure to the final establishment of a bishop in South Carolina. It was in this convention that Mr. Smith was one of the committee which sat up all night formulating the application to the English Church for consecration of bishops for America.

We trust that we have shown how important were Bishop Smith's services to the Church in those troubrous days. His episcopate appears not to have been very active; there were a few ordinations but no confirmations, and apparently no visitations. He seems only to have seen the promised land of an actively functioning diocese from a distance. He sowed the seed, it was good seed, but it took long to germinate

³²W. H. Stowe, p. 323.

³³*Memoirs of Right Rev. William White*, 1839. Bird Wilson, p. 112.

and to bear fruit.^{33 1-2} This came abundantly, after many years of more or less dormancy in the Church in South Carolina, in the short but splendid episcopate of Bishop Theodore Dehon (1812-1817), when a veritable renaissance took place.

Viewed from the standpoint of his character, combining strength with wisdom, and his manifold activities in a time that "tried men's souls," it would seem indeed that Bishop Smith was a man "sent from God." His sermons which are extant in manuscript form breathe a deep religious fervor, an even orthodoxy, and a broad human sympathy.³⁴ We can scarcely do better here than to quote the following summation coming from the sympathetic heart of one of his successors, our sixth Bishop, Right Reverend W. B. W. Howe, written after a review of the Church here in those days:³⁵ "From this it appears that but for the influence of Rev. Robert Smith, rector of St. Philip's, it is almost certain that the Church in South Carolina would not have acceded at this time to the proposed union of the Episcopal Churches throughout the United States. Dr. Smith in what he did, looked not on his own things, but on the things of others. When he said of Rule 6, 'objected to as far as relates to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina,' he relinquished the honor as he thought of the first episcopate of South Carolina if only he could carry the Church into union with the sister churches of other States. And when the honor of the first episcopate did come to him in 1795, I seem to see, in Bishop Smith's after administration of the diocese, a care, first of all, to remove prejudices against the episcopate. Knowing these prejudices in the minds of his people against 'My Lord Bishop' he kept 'My Lord' out of sight altogether, and let the bishop appear only on rare occasions. Probably he was too considerate of popular prejudices. I have turned the leaves of the episcopal register back to Bishop Smith's day, and find no record of visitations, or of confirmations³⁶ in the six years of his episcopate. Eleven ordinations are carefully recorded of names known by tradition only—that is all. If South Carolina had a resident bishop he did not obtrude himself or his prelacy upon her. That staunch old puritan who left England to be rid of the 'Lord Bishops,' and afterwards was glad to get rid of 'the lord

³³ 1-2 No successor to Bishop Smith was elected until 1804, when Rev. Edward Jenkins declined his election on account of age. No further attempt to elect a bishop was made until Theodore Dehon was elected and consecrated in 1812. Thus for eleven years there was no bishop of the diocese.

³⁴ They are preserved in a chest in St. Philip's Home.

³⁵ Sermon quoted above.

³⁶ The first confirmation in South Carolina was by Bishop Dehon, March 30, 1813, of a class presented in Trinity Church, Edisto Island, by Rev. Andrew Fowler. Pamphlet describing the service in archives of the diocese. In this year 516 persons were confirmed by Bishop Dehon. *Dalcho*, p. 534.

brethren,' might have found rest and peace with us under our 'gentle first bishop.'

"There is a pleasant touch to link Bishop Smith with the present. The present St. Philip's Church was built after his death, the first building having been destroyed by fire. But yet another fire having damaged the chancel, the restoration [1921] was made with a lengthening of the chancel over the spot where the bishop was buried. It was found that he had been buried in a vault with a heavy masonry arch over it. The architect said that nothing could make a better foundation for the new chancel wall than this arch. So the bishop rests in peace, taking part as he did in life in the welfare of the church."³⁷

We conclude this sketch with the following revealing obituary in the Charleston *City Gazette and Advertiser* of October 3, 1801:³⁸

"Died on Wednesday afternoon, after a short illness, the Right Reverend Robert Smith, D. D., Bishop of the Episcopal Churches in South Carolina in the 73 year of his age, 45 of which he has performed the duties of minister of St. Philip's Church.

His remains attended by his weeping relatives, the Society of the Cincinnati, and a most numerous train of friends and fellow citizens, were conducted last evening, to St. Philip's Church, where they were interred.

It may be said with great truth, that his upright conduct through life drew upon him the regard of all good men, and no other proof need be given of the love and esteem he was held in by all ranks of society, than the many tears which were shed when his dust was deposited in the silent grave."

³⁷Correspondence.

³⁸Bound files in library of College of Charleston.

A VENTURE IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

THE STORY OF CHURCH SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

By G. MacLaren Brydon

"We have been so eager in this country to teach men how to make a living that we have frequently failed to teach them how to live.—L. C. W.

The Episcopal Church in Virginia has always been interested in the subject of the education of its youth. This interest arises naturally out of the fact of its own inherited ideals, and its realization that all phases of education,—whether dealing with religious teaching and instilling ideals and standards of moral conduct or with the so-called "secular" studies of the sciences, arts, languages and history,—are so inextricably interwoven in one all-embracing concept of training the growing youth for the fullest and richest development of his life, that they cannot be separated the one from the other without serious hurt to them both.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The plans under which the colony of Virginia was established and began its growth, made provision for a college for Indian youth and a free school and a college for English boys, all included in one university. That this plan failed of accomplishment after having been started, was due to conditions over which the colony had no control. Throughout the whole of the colonial period the matter of education was considered to be under the charge of the Established Church, but as that Church had no bishop, no organization and no leaders, no general plan could be devised or put into effect.

A college was, however, secured, the College of William and Mary, which continued under the control and ownership of the Church from its establishment in 1693 until it collapsed in the years of poverty after the War Between the States. It was revived in 1888, and in 1906 was taken over as a state institution.

In some of the colonial parishes endowed free schools were established, and many endowed funds set up in others to aid in the education of needy boys. These endowed schools did excellent service. The names of some of them have come down to us of today: the Syms

School and Eaton School of Elizabeth City Parish, the Norfolk Academy, the Matthey School in Williamsburg, and the Peasley School in Gloucester. There were also some schools, like the Donald Robertson School in King and Queen County, owned and conducted by laymen.

But by far the greatest and most widespread element in the field of education in colonial Virginia was the schools taught by the rectors of parishes and other ministers. A very large number of ministers taught school; and in so doing they, as a group, made a profound contribution to the developing life of the colony by their upholding of the higher ideals of life and of a love for the finer things of culture and refinement. The names of some of the outstanding old-school-teacher-parsons are still remembered: James Marye, of Fredericksburg, who taught the boy, George Washington; Thomas Burges, who taught Martha Dandridge, who later became Martha Washington; James and Matthew Maury in Albemarle, William Yates in Gloucester, and the doughty old Tory, Parson William Douglas, who taught Thomas Jefferson.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA

After the Revolution, and the collapse of the Episcopal Church in Virginia following the sequestration of its property, the state took over the glebe-lands, and all the many endowments for care of the poor and for educational purposes. But the state established no plan for the education of its youth beyond the establishment of the University of Virginia in the last years of Thomas Jefferson's life. In some counties academies were established with the proceeds of the sale of glebe-lands and the income of educational endowments, but none of these academies continued in existence more than a few years, except Norfolk Academy, which survived until the beginning of the twentieth century, and Rappahannock Academy in Caroline County, which had taken possession of the parish church by permission of the state legislature, and used it until its building was destroyed by contending armies in the War Between the States.

The state of Virginia had no general program for the education of its youth until the year 1870, when the Underwood Constitution, which went into effect in 1869, required the establishment of our present public school system. Prior to that time all secondary education was the fruit of private initiative; either as schools started by the several denominations of Christians, or by groups of public-spirited citizens of a community, or by the individual effort of some man or woman who operated his own school. Some of the academies started by different churches developed into present-day colleges, such as Washington and Lee University, Randolph-Macon College and Roanoke College, for men;

Hollins College, Averett College and Mary Baldwin College, for women. The Danville Female Academy and the Staunton Female Institute, which is now Stuart Hall, were cases of schools started by groups of citizens, although actually taught by individuals who in each case operated the school as his own.

In this period also, as in the colonial period, the greatest share in the education of the youth of the state was taken by individuals, mostly clergymen, who taught school, and who in many cases won widespread recognition for the excellence and success of their teaching. The names of some of these schools are still held in grateful memory for the contribution they made to the cultural development of our people. Concord Academy in Caroline, which is said to have set the scholastic standards of the new University of Virginia by the thoroughness of its own curriculum and methods of teaching; Hanover Academy in Hanover County, still remembered and beloved by some of our oldest citizens. Later on, the McCabe School in Petersburg, the McGuire School in Richmond, Pantops in Albemarle for boys, the Brockenbrough School in Tappahannock, and the Edge Hill School of the Misses Randolph in Albemarle for girls; these were typical of many others scattered in every part of the state.

There was of necessity no organization, and no centralized authority in scholastic matters under which these schools, or any of them, operated. In methods and character of teaching, in breadth or narrowness of curriculum, and in the ideals and aims of a school, each principal or headmaster or mistress followed his or her own ideas and ideals.

FIRST SCHOOLS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN VIRGINIA

The first school actually established by the Episcopal Church in Virginia was the Episcopal High School at Alexandria, started in 1839 with the two-fold purpose of educating boys who would later enter the Virginia Theological Seminary, and beyond that, to provide education under religious influences for the sons of Episcopal families, and especially for the sons of Episcopal clergymen, throughout the state. The Episcopal High School was indeed established by the trustees of the Virginia Theological Seminary, and was owned by that board of trustees until, within the past thirty years, the two institutions have been separated, and each one given its own separate and independent existence.

The second school established by the diocese was the Virginia Female Institute (now Stuart Hall), in Staunton, which was first organized by a group of laymen of Augusta Parish. A charter was secured

on January 4, 1844, and in the following year the rector, Rev. Thomas T. Castleman, reported that the parish was busily engaged in raising funds for the erection of buildings for the institute. In 1851 the diocese obtained possession of the school by acquiring, through gift or purchase, a majority of the stock of the school corporation. It is today a non-stock corporation, owned by the Episcopal Church of Virginia, the three present dioceses in the state each selecting from time to time one-third of the members of its board of trustees.

Both of these first schools were established while the diocese of Virginia covered the whole undivided commonwealth. The cutting off of the state of West Virginia in 1863, and the organization of the diocese of West Virginia in 1878, the diocese of Southern Virginia in 1892, and the diocese of Southwestern Virginia in 1919, have resulted in much inevitable separation of educational as well as other interests. But the bishops and bishops-coadjutor, if any, of all four of these dioceses are still *ex-officio* members of the board of trustees of the Episcopal High School, and also of the Virginia Theological Seminary, and the three dioceses within the commonwealth of Virginia, as it exists today, together own Stuart Hall.

These first two diocesan schools survived the vicissitudes of war and reconstruction, and the consequent poverty of the people, and they have both carried on in faithful and honored service to the present day.

PLANS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A proposition for the establishment of a diocesan system of schools was brought to the attention of the council of the diocese at its meetings in 1875 and 1877. A committee appointed in 1875 to consider the matter presented a report in 1877, recommending that the diocese be divided into four districts, and that a school be established in each district, with the hope that after such a beginning others might be established and that eventually there might be two schools, one for boys and one for girls in each district. Recognizing the great poverty of the people of Virginia at that time, the committee nevertheless urged that preliminary organizations be made in each district, and plans formulated, to be put into effect as soon as changed conditions would permit. The report of the committee was adopted by the council, but nothing seems to have been done at that time to put the plan into effect.

In one section of the diocese, however, the recommendations were taken more seriously. This district was the Danville Convocation, which includes the counties on the North Carolina line to the east and west of Pittsylvania County, in which the town of Danville was then located.

In 1892 the Danville Convocation determined to establish two schools, one for boys at Halifax Court House, (then called Houston), under the charge of the Rev. J. Green Shackelford, and the other for girls at Chatham, under the Rev. Clevious O. Pruden.

It may be worthy of note that the moving spirit in the establishment of these schools was the Rev. Dr. George W. Dame, of Danville, rector of Camden Parish, who had been the mover of the first resolution and the chairman of the committee on schools in the diocesan council of 1875-77, and who had himself conducted the Danville Female Academy from 1840 until the adverse conditions of the Reconstruction period forced its close in 1869. He was the county superintendent of public schools from the beginning of that system in 1870 until 1883, but his own keen realization that a system of public instruction under the political control of civil government could never give the definite religious instruction and teaching of Christian ideals of character and conduct which he believed to be essential in any well-rounded scheme of secondary education, made him urge and insist upon the importance of schools under Church control. In his resolution presented to the council in 1875 he began with the following words:

"Whereas the thorough instruction of our children in the doctrine of the Bible and of the Church, in connection with their education in science and literature, as taught in our best schools, is the only feasible means of securing intelligent Christians and churchmen to carry on the work of Christ in its purity and integrity in our Diocese."

Both schools, the Chatham Female Institute and the Episcopal Male Academy, were chartered as separate institutions in 1894 and 1895. The boys' school continued in existence for four years, having an enrollment of sixty boys in the session of 1898-99, but was then forced to close its doors. The "Female Institute" at Chatham has continued in existence, and is today a strong and flourishing institution under its present name of Chatham Hall. This is the second oldest school for girls established by the Episcopal Church in Virginia. But the division of the diocese in 1892 threw the whole Danville Convocation into the new diocese of Southern Virginia, and Chatham Hall, along with the two educational institutions for Negroes, the Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg and St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute at Lawrenceville, both established by the undivided diocese prior to 1892, belong to the educational program of the diocese of Southern Virginia.

THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP GIBSON

The episcopate of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Robert A. Gibson as coadjutor bishop to Bishop Whittle from 1897 to 1902, and as bishop of the diocese from 1902 until his death in February, 1919, should always be remembered for its notable features: the great support he gave to the missionary work of the diocese among the underprivileged people of the mountain sections, under the leadership of Archdeacon Frederick W. Neve, D. D., and his deep and abiding interest in the strengthening and advancement of the work of the Church in the rural counties of the diocese. His keen realization of the fundamental necessity of education which included Christian ideals of character and conduct as well as secular instruction, made him stress the importance of schools in both of these fields. In the mountain work the program of development provided for a parish school at every mission station, and later on, the establishment of the Blue Ridge Industrial School under the Rev. Dr. George P. Mayo, which was to be the capstone of the educational plan both in providing high school instruction for the children graduating from the mission schools, and also training in the industrial features of farming, domestic science and homemaking.

As regards the large part of the diocese outside the cities and large towns, he realized that not only the great weakness and inefficiency of the country public schools, but also the inability of such public schools as existed to give any definite teaching in religion, constituted a hindrance to the advancement of these sections, and made it exceedingly difficult for a clergyman with children to give them normal educational opportunities. As an illustration of this condition the experience of a certain minister who came to a rural parish in 1911 may be illuminative. He found upon his arrival that there was only one two-room public school building in the whole county, the rest being one-room schools; and the only school near enough to his rectory to enable his children to attend, was a one-room building with seats for eighteen pupils and an enrollment of thirty-five; and taught through the fifth grade only. When he inquired how the families in his congregation educated their children, he was told that tutors and governesses were employed until the children were old enough to be sent away to private schools.

In the simple days of 1910 a salary of \$1,000 and a house was generally considered to be a fairly comfortable salary for a minister with wife and children in a small town or rural parish, and there were many ministers who did not receive so much. But when a minister with such a salary was faced with the problem of employing a governess to teach his children, and then send them off to a boarding school or to

live with relatives, there was usually one answer only,—the minister accepted the first call that came to him from a community which possessed better school facilities. The inevitable result of this was that country parishes were always harder to fill with desirable ministers, and there were always many vacancies. The bishop might send deacons to take charge of such parishes upon graduation from the seminary, but marriage and the coming of the first child turned the minister's thoughts to the problem of education. There is one rural parish in the diocese which holds the record of having had sixteen ministers, most of them deacons, in thirty-two years.

As Bishop Gibson studied the educational situation, he realized that among the number of private schools, large and small, existing within the diocese, there were many which were conducted by members of the Episcopal Church. He, therefore, developed a plan under which he proposed that these schools which were in any way under the influence of the Church, should come together into a loose sort of voluntary association, through which they might be strengthened and systematized in their aims and plans for religious instruction and Christian teaching. He hoped unquestionably that in the development of such a system, scholarships and funds for schooling might be provided which would enable him to help the children of rectory families in the rural parishes secure adequate educational opportunity. In the working out of this plan, more than one private school placed at the bishop's disposal a scholarship covering board and tuition, which he might assign to the son or daughter of some minister or layman.

While this vision of the bishop never came to full fruition in the establishment of a definite system, it was of great constructive value in its emphasis upon the need. Stressing as he did the necessity of united effort and the responsibility of the Church in the diocese for the education of its children, his efforts paved the way for the development of the Church Schools idea under his successor, Bishop Brown. There was, however, one very real and visible achievement as the outcome of the bishop's efforts, in the organization of a third school for girls by the people of the diocese.

This was Saint Anne's School at Charlottesville. There had been for a great many years a school for girls in that city named Rawlings Institute, owned and operated as a Baptist school. This institution had fallen upon evil days and had been closed for several years. Under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Harry B. Lee, rector of Christ Church, Charlottesville, and founder of many mission chapels in Albemarle County, a movement was inaugurated to secure sufficient funds to purchase this property and reopen it as a school for girls under the control of the Episcopal Church. Strongly endorsed by the bishop, the move-

ment proved successful; the money was raised, a stock company organized, the property purchased, and the new school under the name of Saint Anne's School for girls was opened on September 20, 1910. Telling of his hopes for this venture in his address to the diocesan council of 1910, Bishop Gibson said:

"Speaking for myself as bishop of the diocese, I have anticipated for it a career; as it is likely to be the largest of the comparatively inexpensive schools of which mention has been made in the council several times heretofore, and as in all probability it will become the leading school in the system which it has been my aim to encourage, and through the council to advertise and recommend."

Another incident in the story of Church Schools in Bishop Gibson's administration, and one that proved to have material influence upon the later organization, was the effort undertaken in 1914 by the Rev. Edmund Lee Woodward, M. D., then a missionary to China, recently retired because of ill health, to secure for the diocese a tract of about 30 acres in the western suburbs of Richmond for the purpose of establishing thereon a center of diocesan organization and work. The plan as proposed by Dr. Woodward, and approved by the bishop and by formal vote of the council of that year, was to begin the development of a diocesan center by the acquirement for the diocese of the Chamberlayne School for Boys and the Virginia Randolph Ellett School for Girls—both then in active operation in Richmond under their respective corporate boards. To the schools would be added a synod house for the administration of all diocesan business, and eventually other diocesan institutions might be there established.

The plan, thus approved by the bishop and the diocesan council, was moving steadily forward and about three-fourths of the money required for the purchase of the property had been pledged, when the outbreak of the World War in August, 1914, put an immediate end to the movement, and it died. But it died as the seed dies when it is sown in the ground, and the striking fact exists today—that the Virginia Diocesan Center Foundation, envisioned by Dr. Woodward in 1914, has come to birth into new and vigorous life in the Church Schools system organized in 1920; the Mayo Memorial Church House, given in 1923 as a memorial by the daughters and granddaughters of Captain and Mrs. Peter H. Mayo, to be the diocesan administrative headquarters, or synod house; and the bequest by Miss Annie Rose Walker in 1934 of her 186 acre estate of Roslyn, with a generous endowment, to be used as a diocesan center for conferences and courses of study in religious education and other cognate uses. Lastly, as an integral part of the

spiritual and cultural life of the Church, is the foundation established by Dr. Woodward himself, to the development of which he has given twenty years of his active ministry: Shrine Mont, at Orkney Springs in the Shenandoah Valley, as a conference center for the whole Third Province, and the Shrine of the Transfiguration, as a place apart, for the rest and spiritual refreshment of tired souls.

THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP BROWN

The Rt. Rev. Dr. William Cabell Brown became bishop of the diocese in February, 1919, upon the death of Bishop Gibson. Elected bishop coadjutor in 1914, he had come from the missionary district of Southern Brazil, in which his whole ministerial life had been spent. Prior to his ordination he had been a teacher at the Episcopal High School under Dr. Launcelot M. Blackford, and for some years had been one of Dr. Blackford's chief assistants in the conduct of the school. During his ministry in Brazil the management of a parish school had been an essentially important part of his missionary work.

Upon his return to Virginia, and as he labored beside Bishop Gibson as his assistant for five years, Bishop Brown must have learned of the efforts that had been made toward the association and cooperation of schools under the influence of the Church, and unquestionably he understood and sympathized with the hopes and aspirations of his senior.

He found a great opportunity to enter into the school situation while he was still the bishop-coadjutor. It happened that Stuart Hall was in a difficult situation arising from the plan under which it was being operated. Under the method which had been in use since its organization, the property and good will of the school was leased to an individual schoolmaster who conducted it as his or her own financial venture, and built for the school itself a reputation based upon the character and reputation and the success of his or her own work as an educator. The Episcopal High School had been conducted under the same plan for more than fifty years, but between 1890 and 1900, in the latter part of the headmastership of Dr. Launcelot M. Blackford, this old method had been changed for a new plan, under which the board of trustees itself operated the school and employed the headmaster.

In each case, under the earlier method, the lessee who operated the school ran the risk personally of suffering a financial loss through failure, or enjoyed the financial results of success. The board of trustees of the school received a stipulated rental for the property, but this rental was never large enough in either case to provide for repairs and upkeep, to say nothing of the frequently recurring necessity for the erection of

new buildings required by increasing enrollment. The corporation owning the school was in neither case able to pay for such capital improvements, even though the school itself was proving most successful to the head of the school from the financial as well as from the scholastic point of view. New buildings could only be secured by appeal to generous members of the Episcopal Church for gifts.

As soon, however, as the new plan was put into effect completely at the Episcopal High School, a notable change was brought about in its finances. While under the new plan the board of trustees itself was compelled to assume the risk of a deficit in any year, it was also, on the other hand, able to make use of the profit arising in any year for the development of the property and better equipment of the school. The difference in the results shown by the two methods was strikingly manifest in 1914; the Episcopal High School was able to erect such buildings as were needed from time to time, while the board of trustees of Stuart Hall was floundering in heavy debt.

Such was the situation when Bishop Brown was made a member of the board of trustees of the two schools upon his coming to the diocese. He quickly perceived the root of the financial troubles of Stuart Hall, and took the lead in a movement to change the method of operation of that school to the one which had proven so successful at the Episcopal High School. The continuing success and growth of Stuart Hall since that time shows the wisdom of that change of plan.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH SCHOOLS SYSTEM

The Nationwide Campaign of 1919 gave Bishop Brown his great opportunity of asking for the establishment of a diocesan system of schools. In this campaign the vestry and lay-people of every parish in the whole Episcopal Church were asked to study their own field of opportunity and prepare a list of their needs for new buildings or equipment, in order to enable them as a parish to do more effective work and reach more deeply into the life of their own community. At the same time they were to join with the other parishes in studying the needs of their own diocese for the development of its missionary and promotional work, and help formulate a schedule of diocesan needs of better organization, buildings and equipment that would strengthen and set forward its ministry in every part of its field. Beyond the diocese they were to extend their study and enlarge their interest to cover the whole worldwide field of missionary endeavor of the Episcopal Church. All of the needs in these three fields, as finally agreed upon in every diocese, were combined into one schedule, which after final approval by the

National Council was set before the whole Church as the goal which was to be reached by the gifts and prayers of all her people.

In conferences with clergymen and laymen of the diocese of Virginia, and in the campaign committee appointed by the diocesan council of 1919, as consideration was given to the needs of the missionary work in the mountains, among the Negroes, and in the rural counties, the bishop stressed the importance of the proposed system of boarding and day schools as its greatest and most important need in the field of religious and secular education. That in the end it was so included as one of the largest and most important items in the diocesan program, was an acknowledgement of the leadership of Bishop Brown, and the will of the diocese to follow him: but it was also in a very real sense the fruition of the plan toward which Bishop Gibson had been leading the people of the diocese during his administration; it was the coming to full maturity of an idea that was born in the council of 1875.

The plan as presented by Bishop Brown and approved by the diocesan committee, was to establish a system under the direct control of the council which, after taking into account the Episcopal High School at Alexandria, and Stuart Hall at Staunton, would cover the rest of the diocese and help indeed to serve the needs of the whole state of Virginia. The situation existing at that time was that all the schools in Virginia, which were in any way under the control of the Church, were situated in the western part of the state. Chatham Hall, at Chatham, in Pittsylvania County; the Virginia Episcopal School for Boys at Lynchburg (established by Rev. Dr. Robert C. Jett, in 1916); Stuart Hall at Staunton; St. Anne's School at Charlottesville, and the Episcopal High School at Alexandria. To these might be added the two schools for special needs: St. Andrew's School and Home for Homeless Boys, at Covington, and the Blue Ridge Industrial School in Greene County for mountain children; and to complete the picture, the Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg and St. Paul Normal and Industrial School at Lawrenceville, both established for Negro students.

It was thought that the Valley and the Piedmont section, with the above schools which were within or just outside the bounds of the diocese, were fairly well provided for. Staunton, Chatham and Lynchburg, being outside the diocese could not be taken into a diocesan system, nor could the Episcopal High School be so included. It was, therefore, determined to establish a system which would take in St. Anne's School, acquire by purchase two schools already in operation in the city of Richmond, and establish two new schools in the Tidewater section. There were at that time four excellent schools in Richmond: the McGuire School for Boys, and the Collegiate School for Girls, both

within the city, and the Virginia Randolph Ellett School for Girls and the Chamberlayne Country School for Boys, in the suburban area outside of the then city limits.

It was determined after much consideration that the two "country" schools, with the day pupils spending a much larger part of the day under the control and influence of the school authorities than was usually the case in other schools, would best fit in with the plans of the diocesan committee, and for that reason these two schools were later purchased. They had been started and conducted by successful and most able teachers, the Ellett School by Miss Virginia Randolph Ellett, and the Chamberlayne School by the Rev. Churchill G. Chamberlayne, Ph. D. The city of Richmond owes much to both of them for the ideals of culture and the true educational values which they instilled into the successive generations of pupils who passed through their hands. Miss Ellett gave up the headship of her school when it was acquired by the diocese, but continued to teach, and to live in the school until her death. Dr. Chamberlayne, being in the prime of his usefulness and power, continued as the head of his own school, helping to carry on and to strengthen the aims and ideals of the system of schools by his own experience and success. The names of the two schools were changed to Saint Catherine's School and Saint Christopher's School, respectively, in order that by their very names they might convey the thought of the purpose of religious training and Christian character building, which they were established to carry on.

The Tidewater section (roughly speaking, that part of Virginia east of a line drawn through Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and Emporia), which as regards schools was the most needy section of the diocese, required the establishment of the two entirely new schools, because there was no school already in existence in a suitable location which could be secured. After much discussion and consideration of sites, the town of Tappahannock was chosen for the location of a school for girls, and a site adjoining the old colonial Christ Church in Middlesex County for the school for boys. To the one was given the name Saint Margaret's School; while for the other, the very location adjoining the two hundred year old church building of Christ Church Parish, with its intimate connection with the history of Virginia, suggested the name of Christchurch School. The people of Tappahannock and Essex County gave five thousand dollars toward the acquirement of property for their school, and in Middlesex County also several thousand dollars were given for theirs.

At the meeting of the council of the diocese in May, 1920, formal approval was given to the establishment of this system of schools, and

the sum of \$200,000 was approved to be raised through the Nationwide Campaign within the three-year period, with which to acquire the necessary property and put the system into operation. A charter was secured on June 8, 1920, and the corporation "Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia" was promptly organized with a board of twenty-five members, the provision being placed in the charter that whenever a vacancy should occur in this membership it should be filled by the selection of a new member from two or more persons nominated by the annual council of the diocese of Virginia.

Because of the great achievement won in the establishment of this system of Church boarding and day schools, and the continuing success of the plans put into effect for its development, the names of the first group of members of the board of trustees should be held in gratitude by the people of the diocese. They performed a work far better and more abiding than they perhaps realized at that time. Grasping the vision of Bishop Brown as their leader and making it their own, they set up Christian faith and religious training and the development of the highest ideals of character and conduct as the goal always to be striven for; and built around that ideal a group of schools which, in strength of financial structure and high scholastic standing, will by the blessing of God continue to grow and flourish from generation to generation.

The names of these were:

Rt. Rev. William Cabell Brown, D. D.	
*Rev. Edmund L. Woodward, M. D., D. D.	*Mr. Oliver J. Sands.
*Rev. Frederick D. Goodwin, D. D.	Mr. John M. Taylor
*Rev. W. Roy Mason, D. D.	Mr. Robert Beverley
Rev. W. Russell Bowie, D. D.	*Mr. Lewis C. Williams
Dr. James H. Dillard	*Mr. E. Randolph Williams
Mr. Eppa Hunton	Mr. Frederick E. Nolting
Mr. Thomas D. Stokes	Mr. W. Harrison Wellford
Mr. George C. Gregory	*Mr. J. Carson Phillips
Mr. Gordon Wallace	Mr. Kenneth Gilpin
Mr. John B. Mordecai	Mr. Thomas B. McAdams
Mr. William M. Habliston	Gen. B. D. Spilman
Mr. Thomas L. Moore	*Mr. E. I. Carruthers

Of these twenty-five members, eight, whose names are starred above, have continued in active service on the board during the past twenty-five years as has also the secretary-treasurer, the Rev. Dr. G. McLaren Brydon, who was elected to that position at the first meeting. During this whole period Mr. Oliver J. Sands has been the chairman of the committee, called at first the finance committee but later the executive committee, which carries on the business of the board during the inter-

vals between the stated meetings of the whole body. Such vacancies as have occurred through death, resignation, or removal from the diocese, have been filled by others who have valiantly carried on the ideals and aims of the founders.

From the standpoint of educational organization, the planning of curricula, deciding upon methods of religious instruction, and setting forward in general the ideal of a system of Christian schools, the one member above all others who was most instrumental in starting the new schools, bringing order out of chaos, and charting the system along unfamiliar or unknown ways during the first formative years, was the Rev. Dr. Edmund L. Woodward. A son-in-law and devoted friend of Bishop Gibson, and profoundly interested in the subject of secondary education as a result of his fourteen years' experience as a missionary in China, he strongly seconded and set forward the plans proposed by Bishop Brown, and was greatly instrumental in commending the whole plan to the people of the diocese. Shortly after the system was put into operation, it was realized that an official was needed who could give his whole time to the work of organizing and developing the several schools, and Dr. Woodward was made dean of the system. It would be hard to overestimate or overstate the value of his work in that position: in carrying out the plans of the bishop; in suggesting and supervising; in insisting on the importance of definite courses of religious study in each school, with recognition of such study in the credits given; in consultation with headmasters and headmistresses from time to time upon their own problems; and in urging, and at times insisting upon, the physical development of the schools. The high scholastic standards of the schools today is in great measure due to the standards which he set to be striven for and attained.

The three schools already in operation when acquired by the Church Schools system, began their new career as parts of the diocesan system when they opened their doors to students in September, 1920. Within a year thereafter the locations of the two new schools, both on the Rappahannock River, in the Tidewater section, had been selected, the property purchased, and work begun upon the adaptation of buildings, already standing, to their new duty as school buildings. Within two years both new schools were open, St. Margaret's having started its first session in September, 1921, and Christchurch School in September, 1922. With these five schools the Church Schools system has carried on through fair weather and foul, through storm and stress of severe financial depression and the sunshine of financial prosperity, through mistakes and errors of judgment, and through the successful outcome of careful plan-

ning: the child of many earnest prayers of many people, and by the blessing of God.

From the very first the success of the system has been notable, both in the character and excellence of the several schools themselves and the high standards of scholarship which have been maintained, and also in the strong financial organization which has won for it the respect and confidence of the business men of the community. The estimation in which our schools are held by their patrons is shown by the fact that, with the exception of Christchurch School which has undergone adversities different from the others, every other school in the system has had for several years past a waiting list of pupils seeking admittance who must be refused for lack of room.

Shortly after the diocesan system was started, the congregations of the Episcopal Church in Alexandria and Arlington County, who felt very strongly the need of a school for girls in that city, organized a stock company and established a school of their own, which they named Saint Agnes' School. It was felt at that time that the diocesan system would not be able to undertake the organization and support of this new school until the others already formed had been firmly established, but both within the Church Schools corporation and in Alexandria, and throughout the diocese generally, the hope was expressed that as soon as might be possible, St. Agnes' School should be made an integral part of the diocesan system.

FINANCING A SUCCESSFUL SYSTEM

One most interesting fact about the organization of the board of trustees, and one which may explain in great measure the success of the system, is that of the twenty-five first members, five were clergymen and the remaining twenty were selected from among the ablest business and professional men in the diocese. Among its membership were three schoolmen of long and successful experience, Bishop Brown, Dr. Woodward and Dr. James Hardy Dillard of Charlottesville, the director of the Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund, and an authority on public education in the Southern states. To these three was given by tacit consent the duty of handling all the educational problems of a group of schools, while to the business men on the board was given the responsibility of working out and solving the financial problems, and of keeping the system of schools as a business organization on an even keel. The one duty which all members of the board held in common, and for which all worked together from the heart, was that the supreme and never-to-be-forgotten purpose and aim of the system, and of every school within it, was to uphold the Christian ideal of character and con-

duct. The fundamental aim must ever be to try to prepare their pupils for life: to teach them how to live, and to make the most out of life, both for themselves individually and for the world of which they were to be a part, and not merely how to make a living.

From the very first the physical development of the schools,—the purchase of additional property when needed, the erection of new buildings in order to accommodate larger numbers of pupils,—has always been the greatest and most urgent financial problem the system has had to solve. The primary gift of \$170,000, instead of the \$200,000 that had been hoped for in the three years of the Nationwide Campaign, did little more than pay for the acquirement of property for the two new schools and the purchase of the land and buildings owned by the three schools already in existence. There was not at any school a sufficient number of buildings for class-room and dormitory use, nor enough equipment; nor, except in the case of Christchurch School, with its 85 acres of land, was there enough land owned by any school for its necessary expansion. Under the conditions existing in 1922, it was clearly seen that no school in the system was able to receive and care for an enrollment large enough to make the school self-supporting.

The definite aim and purpose of all concerned in the matter, the bishop, the members of the board of trustees and the council of the diocese, and indeed the people of the diocese as a whole, has from the first been that, after the diocese had given over a period of years a sufficient amount of money to get the schools well started, the system would then support itself out of the profits of operation of the several schools, without being a continuing drain upon either the diocese or any group of charitably inclined givers for money to cover further deficits. It was also determined from the first that the rates of board and tuition to be charged at our schools should be as low as it might be possible to make them, while still securing therefrom sufficient funds to pay operating expenses and upkeep. It was hoped that, while it seemed necessary to charge \$600 per annum for board and tuition at our schools in Richmond, the other schools might be operated on charges of \$450 at St. Anne's and as low as \$400 at the two schools in the rural section, where the average income of our families was so much lower than in the urban sections, and where the cost of living would be consequently less. The mounting costs of living, which have been on the upward grade ever since the first World War, very quickly showed that the schedule, tentatively approved in 1919 for boarding pupils, would never yield sufficient income to keep the schools solvent without a large amount of constantly repeated outside begging. For that reason both tuition rates and board and other charges have necessarily been increased as conditions seemed to require.

The success of the system in its first two years, and the obvious greatness of the opportunity which was opening before it, convinced the council of the diocese of the necessity of providing an additional amount of money to enable the necessary expansion. A plan was approved in 1922 whereby the diocese agreed to give to the schools system the sum of \$50,000 a year for twelve years. By virtue of this agreement the Church Schools corporation was enabled to borrow at once the sum of \$300,000 upon the security of a first mortgage upon all its real property, and, after paying the indebtedness incurred in the original purchases and the erection of the first buildings, put the remainder into new buildings and additional land where needed. The appropriation of \$50,000 per annum by the diocese paid the interest upon the indebtedness and annual curtail of \$30,000 of principal, and still left a sum amounting to about \$165,000 during the course of the twelve-year period for further strengthening of the system, either in additional capital improvements or in the payment of the inevitable deficits in the operation of one or another of the schools during the first few years.

The interest aroused among the Church people of Richmond in their two schools, St. Catherine's School and St. Christopher's School, resulted in the carrying on of a campaign, called the "St. C's Campaign," for funds for the further development of those two schools. This campaign, which was held in the year 1925, resulted in gifts of money and land amounting to nearly \$100,000, which was divided proportionately between the two schools. The beginning of our scholarship endowment funds came from gifts made in that campaign: the two Judith Cabell Rose Walker scholarships, one at each school, the Lewis Ginter and the Charles E. Whitlock scholarships at St. Christopher's, and the Powell Scholarship at St. Catherine's. Other scholarship funds, which mean much to our system, include the William Cabell Brown Memorial Fund, established by the laymen of the Rappahannock Valley Convocation; the Landon R. Mason Fund, given by Grace and Holy Trinity Church in Richmond in memory of a beloved pastor; the Virginia Randolph Ellett Fund, given by a devoted friend of Miss Ellett; the Elizabeth Dillard Scholarship; the Frank Page Scholarship; and endowments for prizes and other purposes. St. Christopher's School has received within the past two years an endowment fund of over \$40,000 from a few generous friends, and beginnings have been made of funds for granting reductions from board and tuition rates in deserving cases at one or another school. It is to be hoped that as time passes many other endowed scholarships or scholarship funds may be established. While the school system by standing rule makes a reduction of twenty-five per cent in charges to children of the clergy and

foreign missionaries, there are always cases in which it is most desirable to receive a pupil whose family cannot pay the full charges. Indeed it is to be most earnestly urged that never in the future must the board of trustees, or the faculty and local board of any school forget that one of the great purposes in mind in the establishment of our system was the hope of being able to extend the privilege of attendance upon our schools to certain classes or cases of boys and girls whose families might be financially unable to pay the regular rates. To accomplish this, endowed scholarships and funds for the reduction of charges in special cases will always be most necessary.

The growing pressure of the lean years of financial depression, which began in 1929, eventually made it impossible for the diocese to continue making its annual appropriation of \$50,000 through the promised years to 1934, except by doing desperate hurt to its widely extended missionary work. For that reason, and because the refinancing of the indebtedness of the Church Schools system in 1930, and again in 1935, had greatly reduced the amount of interest due upon the remaining indebtedness incurred in 1923, an arrangement was made whereby the diocese would pay each year, for the time being, the interest upon the bonds outstanding without any payment for curtail of principal, and then distribute over a succeeding period of years the remainder of the amount originally promised in 1922. During these years the school system itself, because of its growing success and the ever recurring need of new buildings for the enlargement of facilities, was borrowing upon its own credit and paying both interest and curtails of principal from the income of the schools. By a wise provision of the board of trustees, the rule has been in force for a number of years that, except in the case of emergency, no money must be borrowed for new buildings at any school, unless it can be shown that the proposed enlargement of facilities will yield enough additional income to pay interest upon the money borrowed and proper curtails of principal at stated times. Because of the enforcement of this rule, the system was able in 1939 to relieve the diocese of the payment of the remainder of the pledge made in 1922, which still remained unpaid,—a total of about \$66,000. By that time the schools system, from the standpoint of financial organization and development, was able to stand alone, and, as a system created and owned by the diocese of Virginia, able to carry on its mission of furnishing to the people of the diocese secular education under Christian standards and ideals and definite religious training. May God grant that through the years to come it may ever be an increasingly useful and valuable agency of the Episcopal Church in its field of ministration and service to the people of our state.

EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the decade between 1935 and 1945 the unprecedented growth of population suburban to the City of Washington and on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, brought great growth to St. Agnes' School for Girls, and at the same time produced an imperative need for the establishment of a school for younger boys. Because of the realization that the situation could better be handled by schools belonging to one strong diocesan system than by smaller institutions acting separately, a movement grew for the admission of St. Agnes' School into the diocesan Church Schools system, and for the organization by that system of another school for boys. The board of trustees of Church Schools faced frankly, and with full discussion, the question whether that corporation should consider its sole duty to be the conduct and development of the group of five schools planned in the year 1920, or whether it should maintain its original purpose to be the board of education of the diocese, to provide as fully as it could for the needs of the whole diocese, and to establish additional schools if and when such action should be found both desirable and feasible.

Supported by the expressed desire of the council of the diocese that St. Agnes's School should be taken into the diocesan system, and a further request that the possibility of organizing a school for boys be looked into, the board of trustees of the Church Schools corporation took the definite step of expansion into its own widened field of opportunity. A new school for boys, between the third and eighth grades, was determined upon for the Church people of the Alexandria-Arlington neighborhoods. A tract of approximately five acres, situated within three squares of St. Agnes' School, was acquired, and during the summer of 1944 the large residence and garage located upon the tract were repaired, fitted up and equipped for school purposes, with capacity for about ninety boys. The whole movement and the later development of the property, the organization of the school, selection of faculty, and the multitude of details connected therewith, were under the leadership of the Rev. Edward E. Tate, rector of Immanuel Church in Alexandria, aided by the headmistress, faculty and board of St. Agnes' School. The new school was given the name Saint Stephen's School for Boys. So great was the need and the desire for its establishment that the first days of opening in September, 1944, brought an accepted enrollment of 97 pupils, with a waiting list of forty more.

Shortly after the opening of St. Stephen's School, the many details connected with the transfer of St. Agnes' School to the Church Schools system were completed, and by acquirement of the stock of the

St. Agnes' School corporation by trustees for the diocese, and by formal sale of the school property and goodwill to the diocesan corporation on February 5, 1945, St. Agnes' School took its place as one of the integral schools in the diocesan system. Carrying out the rules already in force a local board was appointed for each new school, consisting in part of members of the general board and in larger part of persons more deeply associated with the particular school itself.

CONCLUSION

So runs the story of the organization and development of our diocesan system of Church Schools. Underlying its past history and all its hopes for the future, as the motivating cause of its existence, is the strong conviction that there are, and always will be, many families who will demand for their children the cultural advantages offered by strong and well-established private schools, and are determined to send their children to such institutions; and that there are very many families who feel so strongly the importance of definite and clear teaching of the Christian faith and its standards of character and conduct as being at the very center of all well-balanced education, that they will desire to send their children to schools where such teaching can be given by trained teachers. To these families our schools look for the privilege of educating their children, in the eager hope that as time passes new ways may be opened and opportunities found of extending their service more widely among the people of our diocese and state.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DR. THOMAS BRAY'S BIBLIOTHECA PAROCHIALIS

By Samuel Clyde McCulloch*

Edward Edwards, one of the famous English librarians of the mid-nineteenth century, maintained that many of the best libraries owe their origins to the efforts of the clergy.¹ Should a list of these scholarly clergymen ever be compiled, the name of Dr. Thomas Bray would be counted among the most important, for he founded upwards of fifty libraries in America and other countries abroad, and sixty-one in England and Wales.² Moreover, the library plans he projected during his lifetime were carried on after his death, though with somewhat less vision and efficiency. Born at Marton, Shropshire, in 1656, Bray was educated at Oswestry School and Oxford, where he was graduated from All Souls' College in 1678. Having entered holy orders, he served as a country curate, chaplain, and vicar until in 1690 he became rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire. Here he wrote his famous *Catechetical Lectures*. Their publication brought his name before Henry Compton, bishop of London, who, in 1696 (the same year Bray received his D. D. from Magdalen College, Oxford),³ appointed him ecclesiastical commissary of Maryland.

Bray accepted the position only on the condition that he would receive assistance in his library plans.⁴ His insistence was based on the knowledge that the best way to improve the effectiveness of the clergy was to have in each clergyman's home shelves crowded with well chosen books. He knew that the unlearned clergyman was nine times out of ten the unsuccessful clergyman, and often indolent besides. Ac-

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¹Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London, 1859), II, pp. 556-557.

²Report for the Year 1840, of the Institution established by the late Dr. Bray and His Associates for Founding Clerical Libraries in England and Wales and Negro Schools in British America (London, 1841), p. 34.

³Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), I, p. 173. John Wolfe Lydekker's most recent article entitled, "Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise," HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, XII (September, 1943), pp. 187-214, gives Bray's year of birth as 1658. For Bray's date of baptism Mr. Lydekker checked the baptismal registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the incumbent, the Rev. S. W. Rodin. The date was May 2, 1658, and Mr. Lydekker feels that the baptismal entry of 1658 is the year of Bray's birth.

⁴Sion College MSS., "Bray, Maryland, Bishoprics, etc." (L. C. Photo), p. 8. (Hereafter cited as Sion Coll. MSS.)

cording to Bray's practical reasoning a clergyman must have not only a kind heart, but also a full head. But the average clergymen going out to the colonies were too poor to afford many books and, therefore, could not build up private libraries; neither were there private persons nor public institutions from which they could borrow books. As a result Bray set to work to see that overseas parishes had adequate libraries. From this step evolved a whole system of supplying not only the colonies, but the home area of England and Wales as well.

Forced to remain in England until 1699 by the postponement of the crown's approval of an act establishing the Anglican Church in Maryland, which had been passed by that colony's Assembly in 1696, Dr. Bray gave his attention to two important problems. The first was the selection of well-qualified missionaries, and the second, and more important in Bray's eyes, the means of supplying the missionaries with libraries.

Bray's first step in fulfilling his library plans was to issue a small pamphlet in 1696 entitled, *Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations*.⁵ Deploring the lack of books in the colonies, Bray went into detail concerning the cost and method of purchasing libraries, the preservation of lending libraries, and the marking and care of books. The next year Bray published a larger and more ambitious plan. Called *An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, both Divine and Human, In all the Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both at Home and Abroad*,⁶ it contained proposals to the gentry and clergy for purchasing lending libraries for Maryland, Virginia, and other foreign plantations. It also elaborated the suggestions made the previous year, and concluded by suggesting titles for desirable books, classifying some sixty-three works—Church history (6), general history (4), geography and travel (11), theology (36), Latin classics (4), medicine (1), and gardening (1).⁷

This last idea of proposing titles matured into Bray's largest plan, which he published during the same year in book form as the *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such Heads both General and Particular, as are More peculiarly Requisite to be well Studied by every Pastor of*

⁵Reprinted for Thomas Bray Club, 1916. For the date and correct authorship of Bray's pamphlet see Lawrence C. Wroth, "Dr. Bray's 'Proposals for the Incouragement of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations'—A Bibliographical Note," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXV (October, 1932-August, 1936), pp. 518-534.

⁶Reprinted in *Maryland Historical Society Publication No. 37* (Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Rev. Thomas Bray, His Life and Select Works Relating to Maryland*, Baltimore, 1901), pp. 51-70. (Hereafter cited as Md. Hist. Soc. Pub. No. 37.)

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 67-70.

a Parish.⁸ This book was intended to promote his library schemes and guide the missionaries in the tasks they had undertaken by listing all the books that would be useful in the colonies—or in Great Britain, for that matter. In the introduction Bray wrote:

Such an inestimable Benefit to Mankind, are a Clergy that do thoroughly understand, and industriously preach the Genuine Doctrines of Christianity.

In order to achieve this aim they must have books.

And this has been the great Aim in that Collection of Books here Recommended, as proper to enable our Clergy to Advance the Blessed Work proposed in those Plantations where they are to Minister.⁹

Bray indicated that a minister should have a well-rounded education, including nature study, mathematics, history, law and government.¹⁰ He also interspersed among his bibliographical suggestions some technical suggestions similar to those appearing in the previous two pamphlets. A second, and greatly enlarged edition of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, appeared in 1707,¹¹ and it is this enlarged edition whose importance merits a discussion in detail.

The work is a bibliographical treatise *par excellence*. Indeed, it is a very monument of erudition, and must have somewhat depressed those for whom the book was intended—ministers going out to the colonies—because it was supposed to represent an idea of the books they should take. Although it was 412 pages in length, Bray planned a second volume—which never reached the press. The scope of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, numbering thousands of titles, with extensive commentaries, indicates the careful scholarship of the man, and furnishes also a significant bibliographical analysis of the ecclesiastical learning of the time. It is also important because the libraries Bray sent to the colonies followed as closely as possible the suggestions laid down in it. Finally, it is important because many of the notes and comments furnish an unusual insight into Bray's character and point of view. A note at the front is typical of Bray's sly humor. He wrote: "The *Errata*, occasion'd by the Author's great Distance from the Press are desir'd to be Corrected by the Pen of the Candid Reader, as they shall occur."

⁸A part of this is reprinted in Md. Hist. Soc. *Pub.* No. 37, pp. 191-205. For the full text see the copy in the Huntington Library published by Robert Clavel, London.

⁹Md. Hist. Soc. *Pub.* No. 37, pp. 194, 197.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹¹Printed in London by S. H. for R. Wilkin.

Bray divided the work into seven chapters, after having provided a thirty-eight page analytical table of the contents; he also made a twenty-six page table for the projected second volume as well. In his introduction he revealed in emphatic terms his views about the dignity and importance of the ministry, especially in regard to their education:

There being no Office in its Nature of greater Dignity; in its Design of greater Use; in the due Execution of more publick Benefit; and in the Mal-administration of more fatal Consequence; and which lastly meets with greater Opposition from Satan and all his Emissaries, Infidels, Hereticks and Libertines, than the Pastoral Office: It is infinitely requisite, that of all others this should be undertaken with the greatest Precaution, and with the least of Rashness and Inconsideration; and that every Candidate for Holy Orders would duly Inspect, as those Books, which have been written upon the foregoing Consideration, so the best Ministerial Directories relating to Studies Theological; To the Pastoral Duties; To that Circumspect, Holy and Exemplary Living; And to that Prudence in Conduct, accompany'd with Courage and Zeal, which is requisite to render their Labours more effectual. And that Missionaries should do this more especially. And it is also requisite, together therewith they should duly survey the Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles; and of the Fathers, Divines, and others who have been most Eminent in their Generations, both for their Piety, and a Publick Spirit. All this precedaneous to their Undertaking the Ministerial Functions in order to Instruct others.¹²

Bray also insisted that a minister should have a wide general knowledge, particularly in history:

History, not only Ecclesiastical, but Civil, is of the greatest Use, to the better Understanding both of the Sacred Scriptures, and all the Parts of Ecclesiastical Learning; and so as to be exceedingly necessary to be read concurrently therewith, as may appear by running over the foregoing Scheme of Theological Heads; And that so, as even the Fabulous and Legendary Parts of History may have their Use: It is humbly conceiv'd to be by no means Foreign to the proper Studies of a Minister of Religion, and of a Missionary in particular; to be thoroughly Read in the several Species or sorts of History, viz. Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Personal or Biography; Topographical, Secret, Fabulous, and Various; As also in the Miscellaneous History Appendent to each; And that for the more Regular

¹²Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such Theological and Other Heads, as seem requisite to be perus'd, or Occasionally consulted by the Reverend Clergy*, I, pp. 1-2.

Reading, he proved therein according to the following Scheme, taking in as preparative, Gyography, Voyages, and Travels, and likewise Chronology.¹³

The first chapter, comprising ministerial directories, is designed to assist in pastoral care and duties. The second chapter is devoted to books about "historico-Philosophical Discourses in the Divine Existence,"¹⁴ and the third to pneumatology, "or what concerns us to know of those Spiritual, Immaterial, and Immortal Substances, which are in Dignity next to God, Viz. Angels, and the Souls of Men."¹⁵ Chapters four, five, and six concern natural religion and moral philosophy; heresy; and scriptural criticism and commentary, respectively. In chapter six Bray says that a clergyman "should be provided with such Books as shall best enable him, I. To know the Text itself, II. To understand the meaning of it, and III. To apply it skilfully to the Edification of others."¹⁶

The seventh, and final, chapter is entitled, "Church Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals," and is by far the most extensive in the book, covering pages 145 to 412. Bray's division of the several ages of the Church is as follows:

- (1) Apostolical Age
- (2) Period before the Conversion of Constantine
- (3) Constantine to the Fall and Division of the Roman Empire on the death of Valentinian III
- (4) Fall and Division of Rome to the Introduction of the Roman Office by Charles the Great
- (5) Boniface III to Gregory VII
- (6) Gregory VII to the Reformation
- (7) The Reformation onwards.¹⁷

The headings in the preliminary or introductory section reveal the comprehensive nature of this chapter. Besides the works of the Church fathers, a clergyman should know the following, and he lists at least four books for each heading:

- (1) Ecclesiastical Chronology, History and Geography
- (2) History of the Ancient Persecution, and Martyrologies
- (3) History and Account of the Ancient Heresies
- (4) History of the Ancient Popes
- (5) History of Ancient Monachism

¹³Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, n. p.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 36-41.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 145-412.

- (6) The History of the Works of the Fathers, and to know the subject Matters Treated of by them, and also to distinguish the Genuine from the Spurious, and to know the Editions.
- (7) A Critical Censure upon the Style and Doctrine of the Ancient Writers
- (8) To discover the Corruption and false Dealing about the Works of the Fathers
- (9) On the Authority and Use of the Writings of the Fathers
- (10) An Historical Account of the Doctrine of the Church in several Ages
- (11) Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the Ancient Discipline of the Church
- (12) Lexicographers necessary to the undertaking of Ecclesiastical Writers

A quick sample of the wide range of reading offered on every page of Bray's work may now be given. Under the section headed, "The Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles: of the Fathers also Divines, and others of Eminent and Exemplary Piety Holiness and Virtue, and of such as have been peculiarly Eminent for an active and publick Spirit, and upon both accounts most worthy of Imitation," appear the following titles:

First, the Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles; of the Fathers also, and of later Divines of Eminent and Exemplary Piety, and Holiness

Dr. Taylor's Life of Christ

Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Fathers of the four first Centuries

Ellis Dupin's Evangelical History, or the Life of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, comprehensively and plainly related, with practical Inferences and Discourses thereupon

— *The Evangelical History, Part the Second; being the Lives and Acts of the Holy Apostles, comprehensively and plainly related according to Scriptures, and the Writings of the Primitive Fathers of most Approv'd Authority*

Melichoir Adamus de Vitis Theologorum exterorum Principum, qui Ecclesiam Christi seculo propagaraunt & propugnarunt

Vita Savanarolae

Camerari Vita Melanchthonia

Episcopii Vita per Limborchum

Clark's Lives

Forbesii Vita tum Externa tum Interna

Humphrey's Life of Bishop Jewel

Bishop Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedel

Bishop *Fell's* Life of Dr. *Hammond*, or before his Practical Discourses
Jackson's, Bramhall's, Mede's, Lightfoot's, Barrow's, Lives, before their Works
Dr. *Parr's* Life of Archbishop *Usher*
Isaac Walton's Lives of } Dr. *Donn*
} Mr. *Herbert*
} Sir *Henry Wotton*
} Bishop *Sauderson*

Secondly, the Lives of others, as well *Ethnicks*, as *Laicks*, Eminent for their singular Virtue and Piety

The Life of *Pomponious Atticus*, with Observations thereupon by Sir *Matthew Hales*

N. A book of singular use especially in Party Times, as it exhibits one of the most noble and generous Examples, and extremely worthy the Imitation of great Personages; of one, who admits the greatest Divisions of the State, and bloodiest Prosecutions by those who got to be uppermost; yet was always in a most peculiar manner, munificent to Persons eminent for their Learning or Merits, when under the Displeasure of a prevailing Power, without any regard to Parties, or the Difference of their Sentiments in State Opinions. And the Life, as it was written by *Cor Neps*, has had great Improvements to this purpose by the Observations thereon by Sir *Matthew Hales*.

The Life of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*

Vita *Constantini Magni*, per *Eusebium*

The Life of *K. Charles* the First

The Life of Sir *Matthew Hales*, by the Bishop of *Sarum*

The Life of Dr. D. *Renty*

The Life of Mr. *Bonnel*

Thirdly, the Lives of certain Persons peculiarly Eminent for their Publick and Active Spirits

Vita *Perieskii*, per *Gassendum*

The History of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop Laud, with the Diary of his own Life, and the History of his Chancellorship in *Oxford*

The Life of Mr. *Boyle*, when published¹⁸

As the above indicates, not the least intriguing sections of the book are the notes by Bray. Interspersed between the titles are kindly words of advice, severe admonitions, and shrewd bibliographical criticisms. He advises those who are studying his chapter on natural religion as follows:

¹⁸Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, p. 26.

I conceive it convenient to read the Ancient Greek Poets, together with their Greek Scholiasts; and that you do not look on them barely as idle Romances, but as grave Philosophers and Historians; for such they were reputed not only in their own Times, but also by all their Followers, as involving Divine, and Natural, and Historical Notions of their Gods and Hero's, under Mystical and Parabolical Expressions.¹⁹

Unusually pointed and frank for a clergyman is the following unequivocal statement in chapter one:

Assure yourselves, that it were much more beneficial for the Edification of your Flock that you were Hypocritical, than Licentious . . . for the Hypocrite only perisheth himself . . . But the Scandalous Licentious Person is like the Dragon in the Revelation, that involves the very Stars in his ruin.²⁰

In another he gives a sound and open-minded admonition:

Here I would particularly recommend to the Reading of a Minister all those virulent Books that are written by the Enemies of our Order . . . For as the Excellent Plutarch . . . shews, the best Rules and Measures for an exact and prudent Conduct are to be taken from our Enemies, who do narrowly watch our Failings.²¹

Moreover, over half these notes are written in Latin.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* was a notable contribution to Bray's library plans. Information about these and how they were carried out can be found in an unpublished document in Sion College Library, London. The initial part of this unfinished work by Bray, the *Bibliotheca Americanae Quadripartitae*, shows the structure of several of his libraries, and lists nineteen catalogues to indicate how far his plans were perfected.²² A comparison of these catalogues with the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* reveals how this book was used as an invaluable guide.

The majority of the books in Bray's libraries, as was stipulated in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, were of a theological nature. A description of one of his libraries indicates the ambitious scope of his aims. Sent on December 2, 1700, to Bathtown, St. Thomas's Parish, Pamlico, in

¹⁹Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, p. 48.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 23.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²²Sion Coll. MSS., pp. 263ff. A catalogue of the library which Bray sent to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1698, is reprinted in Edgar Legare Pennington's "The Beginnings of the Library in Charles Town, South Carolina," American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, XLIV (April 18, 1934-October 17, 1934), pp. 167-174. The writer has just discovered Dr. Pennington's excellent article, which, among things, throws further light upon those who supported Bray's library enterprises.

Bishop *Fell's* Life of Dr. *Hammond*, or before his Practical Discourses
Jackson's, Bramhall's, Mede's, Lightfoot's, Barrow's, Lives, before their Works
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North Carolina, it numbered thirty-eight folios, nineteen quartos, and 109 octavos. An analysis of the contents runs as follows—the customary number of theological works including Bibles, Prayer Books, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, the anti-Quaker book: *The Snake in the Grass*, Bishop Edward Stillingfleet's *Vindication of the Trinity*, and many others. In addition there were eleven works of history and travel, two geographies, five dictionaries, three works each on mathematics, natural history, heraldry, biography and law, four ancient classics, the same number of works on grammar and language, three books of essays, two books on sports, and one each on medicine, mythology, and poetry. This last was *Hudibras!*²³ With the parochial library was sent a layman's library numbering 870 volumes and pamphlets.²⁴

The contents of all Bray's libraries varied little: the Bible, the Prayer Book, catechisms, and many of the standard theological works of the day as laid out in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*. Dr. Louis B. Wright, in his article, "The Purposeful Reading of our Colonial Ancestors," mentions, among other works, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and William Camden's *Britannia* as being commonly read by all of the English colonists in America.²⁵ These three invariably appeared in Bray's libraries. Non-theological works in his libraries varied little from those mentioned already in the Pamlico library in North Carolina, and were extremely common during his life.²⁶ Curiously enough John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, more popularly called "The Book of Martyrs," which the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* listed and which Dr. Wright mentions as being popular among all colonists, was not in the catalogues appearing in the Sion College manuscript.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to Bray's biographers, to historians of the Anglican Church, and to historians interested in the colonial period in American history. As a personal record, it gives

²³Sion Coll. MSS., pp. 285-292. Quite a number of the books were well known, and their titles appear in the lists printed in the following two articles by Louis B. Wright: "The 'Gentleman's Library' in Early Virginia: The Library Interests of the First Carters," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (October, 1937), pp. 3-61, and "Richard Lee, II, a Belated Elizabethan in Virginia," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, II (October, 1938), pp. 1-35.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 293-295. In view of the usefulness of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* to early Americana, it is strange that Dr. White Kennett's *Bibliotheca Americanae Primordia* (London, 1713) omits the work entirely, yet mentions every other book Bray wrote between 1696 and 1700 which had any bearing on the colonies. Dr. Kennett's work is one of the best bibliographies of early Americana.

²⁵Louis B. Wright, "The Purposeful Reading of our Colonial Ancestors," *ELH, A Journal of English Literary History*, IV (June, 1937), pp. 85-111.

²⁶See Robert Watts, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or A General Index to British and Foreign Literature* (4 vols., London, 1824).

the thesis and the arguments for Bray's philosophy regarding the nature of his calling and its relation to eighteenth century society in general. While not defining the type of mind and personality which make the ideal clergyman, he implied those requisites by discussing the type of education necessary for a successful clergyman and the kind of subsequent intellectual sustenance which was necessary. Notable for a clergyman of that period, and for one of the orthodoxy and missionary leanings such as characterize Bray, is the place of useful "human" knowledge; of sound secular training; of true respect for philosophers and religious men of the earlier "heathen" cultures. They are given almost as much emphasis as the conventional Anglican theological training.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to those interested in Anglican Church history in that it was an important instrument of the missionary activities of the period both at home and abroad. It served both shepherds and sheep alike. While the contents are now outdated, they make an interesting record of the ecclesiastical bibliographical "musts" and reflect the friends and enemies of the Church.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to historians interested in the colonial years of American history because it was an influence on American culture of the time. When one considers that the libraries based on this bibliography, accompanied by certain lay libraries collected by Bray, comprised the main body of reading material available to many of the colonials,²⁷ the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* becomes a valuable sociological document. Just how great an influence it had is not yet known, but it might have been considerable, particularly when one thinks of the importance of books in the forming of religious and political beliefs and philosophies.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This article is an expansion of a description and evaluation of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* in the writer's monograph, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Commissary Work in London, 1696-1699," published in the October, 1945, issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

²⁷During his lifetime Bray sent upwards of 34,000 books and tracts to America. See appendix to Samuel Smith, *Public Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray*, D. D. H. J. Todd, ed. (London, 1808).

THE COOLEY SCRAPBOOK OF THE BISHOPS

*By James M. L. Cooley**

It was in the early eighteen-nineties that a student at the Theological Seminary in Virginia conceived the notion of a rather unusual scrapbook. He decided that as a hobby and for his own personal enjoyment he would form a collection of pictures of all the members of the American episcopate, with a short biographical sketch of each. At that time there had been only about 160 bishops consecrated in the Episcopal Church, and it was a comparatively easy matter to start with the pictures of most of them. Nevertheless, there were gaps; and as time went on, and with it periods of lack of interest or lack of time to indulge his hobby, the gaps increased.

For forty years, however, this priest of the Church did not give up; and, when retirement came, he immediately gave his attention to the possibility of completing as far as possible his remarkable collection, and acquiring pictures of the thirty-two which were missing. These were finally secured through the kindness of the Church Historical Society, and in the summer of 1938 the "Scrapbook," which was now well into the second volume, contained pictures of all the bishops of the Episcopal Church who had been consecrated up to that year, beginning with Bishop Seabury, short biographical sketches of each, and a few autographs and autographed letters.

The priest above mentioned was the Reverend Frank E. Cooley, who spent his entire ministry in the dioceses of Kentucky, Lexington and Southern Ohio, and died in 1939. He gave the "Scrapbook" to the writer, his son, in the fall of 1938, and the latter has been very interested and diligent in keeping it up to date, increasing the biographical data of former bishops, and adding as much as possible to the number of autographs and autographed letters.

At the present writing the "Scrapbook" contains pictures of all the 466 bishops—arranged in order of consecration—autographs or autographed letters of about 200 of them, and more or less complete biographical data of all of them. Continual search is being made for information to fill out the sketches of the ones no longer living, and it is hoped they will eventually be completed.

*Mr. Cooley is a member of the faculty of Shattuck School, Faribault, Minnesota.

The following are the items of information necessary for a "complete" sketch; date and place of birth; parents, including mother's maiden name; name of college and seminary, date of graduation from each and degrees; dates (including month and day) and places of ordination to the diaconate and priesthood and name of the bishop officiating; date of marriage and wife's maiden name; charges prior to consecration with year dates; date and place of consecration; honorary degrees and other items of general interest, including kinship with other bishops, past and present; date of resignation and date and place of death.

In February, 1944, in an effort to secure from the sources as much information as possible, questionnaires were sent to all members of the House of Bishops—except two who were unreachable—and as new bishops were consecrated questionnaires were sent to them. The response has been most gratifying. One hundred and sixty-four requests were sent, and one hundred and fifty-three replies have been received. These questionnaires were sent because certain bits of information desired are not to be found in *The Living Church Annual* or *Stowe's Clerical Directory*.

In 1940 Bishop Keeler, of Minnesota, took the "Rogues' Gallery"—as he calls it—to General Convention in Kansas City and persuaded over seventy-five of the bishops present to autograph the book beside their pictures. These autographs, as well as informal pictures and pictures of the men at different ages, enhance considerably the interest in the collection.

The present owner is very proud of his possession. Because of its completeness, he believes it to be unique—at least he has never heard of another one like it in private hands. He would be glad to know of any others comparable to it as he does not wish to claim something which cannot be substantiated for his "Scrapbook."

A SYMPOSIUM CONCERNING
HIGHLIGHTS OF ANGLICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Edited by Walter H. Stowe

INTRODUCTION

A 47 page booklet under the above title has recently appeared, intended apparently for the laity, with the laudable purpose of helping them to become better acquainted with the history of the Anglican Church. The author's name is not given. The place of publication is listed as 247 W. Lovell Street, Kalamozoo 8, Michigan. On the back of the title page appears the statement:

"This booklet was compiled by a churchman from sources regarded as authentic."

The writing of such a booklet is no easy matter. Every word counts; therefore, every word must be weighed. Not only must every statement of fact be accurate, but the interpretations of the facts must be in accord with sound scholarship. More than that, the over-all tone of the exposition must be right. This involves problems of proportional treatment, of positive versus negative emphasis, and of correct impressions from necessarily succinct statements. By and large, only an historical expert can do well such a task.

Believing that booklets for the laity should be subjected to expert opinion just as much as more substantial works, which they usually never see, I submitted a copy of this booklet, together with a copy of my own criticisms, to nine historical experts of the Episcopal Church. Seven of the nine are professors of Church history in theological seminaries; one is a scholar of the Church of England, and one is professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, whose researches have inevitably involved much Church history.

Two of the seminary professors did not reply at all; two replied, but did not wish to be represented in the symposium. The five reviews given below are presented in alphabetical order of the authors' names, except that my own comments are placed first for one reason only: each of the others wrote his review with my comments before him, and, therefore, did not repeat my criticisms if he agreed with them.

THE EDITOR'S CRITICISMS

1. The author should put his name on the title page.
2. Page 12—The names and sees of the British bishops at the Council of Arles should be given.
3. The use of sub-headings in such a booklet is a good thing, but several additional ones should be used:
 - a. p.17—"Restraints on Papal Aggression."
 - b. p. 18—"The Renaissance" (A paragraph on this subject should be inserted.)
 - c. p. 21—"Edward VI and the First English Prayer Book."
 - d. p. 24—"The Marian Reaction."
 - e. p. 26—"The Elizabethan Era."
 - f. p. 30—"James I and the English Bible."
 - g. p. 32—"The Puritan Revolution."
 - h. p. 35—"The Restoration."
 - i. p. 36—"The S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G." (Nothing is said about them, but something should be said.)
 - j. p. 37—Eliminate the sub-heading, "The Four Georges," and substitute "The Evangelical Revival."
4. There is no indication in this booklet that the American Episcopal Church is a daughter of the Church of England. A paragraph on this subject should be inserted, with a proper sub-heading, on p. 40, before "Anglican Holy Orders."
5. There is no indication in this booklet that the Anglican Communion is a much bigger thing than the Church of England. A paragraph or two, with its proper sub-heading, should be added on "The Anglican Communion," showing its worldwide character and that it is a group of autonomous Churches, etc.
6. One page ought to be devoted to a select list of sound books, booklets, etc., for further reading by interested laymen.

WALTER H. STOWE.

COMMENTS BY DR. HARDY

The success which I understand the pamphlet, *Highlights of Anglican Church History*, has already achieved shows the value of such a vigorous, clear, and interestingly written treatment of the subject. As such it is to be welcomed, and has, I believe, already been of considerable use. It seems probable, however, that greater care could have been exercised both in form and content without impairing the vigor of the writing. Obviously the heading, "Henry VIII," should not cover the whole English Reformation. Some facts should have been checked more carefully instead of being left under the vague reference "it is claimed." And nobody ought to repeat the discredited story that a Pope once issued a dispensation for bigamy, which was the Lutheran solution for problems like that of Henry VIII—the Renaissance Popes have enough to answer for without that; but the author was doubtless

misled by apparently respectable authorities. Finally there is, as a general point of form, no sufficient reason for concealing the author's name and the date of publication, though they need not necessarily appear on the title page of a pamphlet.

One would like further to see some emphasis in such a treatment on the positive achievements of Anglicanism—its missions, its scholarship, its piety and literature, and the spread of the Church in the United States, for instance. Much of our writing in defense of the Church is too exclusively devoted to the anti-Roman controversy. The latter is unfortunately necessary at times; but it should not absorb attention to the exclusion of the glories of our own tradition. It should be possible to write as incisively on why it is a fine thing to be an Episcopalian as on the negative proposition that it is not necessary to salvation to be a Roman Catholic. I would like to see the author of this pamphlet try it.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

COMMENTS BY PROFESSOR KLINGBERG

I agree with all of your comments and suggestions. Since the tract is intended for an American audience, the American side needs emphasis. Also the facts should be carefully checked. The Spanish Armada, for example, attacked in 1588, not 1587; Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed in 1587. On the same page, 30, "Many" might well be changed to "Those," which fits into the next sentence, emphasizing the fact that Elizabeth was not bloodthirsty.

Mention might be made of the fact that all the autonomous Episcopal Churches are institutions not of theological controversy but of Christian achievement. The English Church during the nineteenth century carried on a titanic missionary program through the S. P. G. and the Church Missionary Society, to cite but two bodies. This work compares favorably, to put the matter mildly, with the greatest successes of the Roman Catholic missionary organizations.

The Anglican missionary went over the face of the earth. He founded the Episcopal Church in Canada, in Australia, to mention two instances. I wonder whether there has ever been a greater or a more successful crusade in Christian history; and the work stands firm today. The S. P. G. alone in the nineteenth century sent approximately 1,500 missionaries to Canada and Newfoundland and about 500 to Australia and New Zealand. To the American colonies before 1783 the number sent was about 350.

Norman Sykes has shown that the Anglican parson of the eighteenth century was not asleep but hard working. I wonder why attention is so often called to the man lying in the shade and so little to the men out in the sun swinging their hoes. Perhaps, it is in part due to the fact that the Episcopalian likes to swing his hoe as quietly as possible. But what a fine crop he brings in: churches built, colleges founded, honest citizens for the community.

This tract, in my opinion, should clearly remain the author's own. Another man would write a different booklet.

To my mind there is but little profit in entering into logistic which a well trained Jesuit loves to take part. In other words, the Living Church should have the spotlight.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

*University of California
at Los Angeles.*

COMMENTS BY MR. MIDDLETON

This is a very valuable little book giving in very brief outline the story of the Anglican Church. Its value, however, would be greatly increased if the wide world character of the Anglican Communion could be clearly stated, and a paragraph on the American Episcopal Church showing its origin from and close alliance with the Church of England. There should also be some account of the S. P. C. K. and of the S. P. G. One page given up to a list of simple books to which the interested reader could turn for further information should be given.

The use of sub-headings is helpful to a ready grasp of the subject. These sub-headings might with advantage be increased in number. We should like the author to know how highly we appreciate his valuable attempt to provide in ready form a brief account of our Church for the many layfolk who are often unable to obtain accurate information, and at the same time to suggest to him that he should re-write it and add his name.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

COMMENTS BY PROFESSOR SALOMON

Having been invited to contribute some constructive criticism concerning this anonymous booklet, the present writer has to start with the suggestion to change either the title or the contents. The title arouses the expectation of a history of the Anglican Communion; what the booklet gives is essentially a history of the Church of England, so strictly limited that not even Wales or Ireland is considered. Under this flag it carries, however, some cargo which has little to do with either topic and should be replaced by more essential things. The comparatively lengthy discourse on or against the Petrine theory, in which by the way Luke 22:32 is overlooked, and the history of the Vatican Council, which was held in St. Peter's and not in the Vatican Palace, as well as the sketch of the Old Catholic Church are out of place in such a short survey. It would have been more useful to say something about the Evangelicals in the 19th century and not merely make a sweep over the "many who were antagonistic to the Tractarians." The whole recent history of the Church since the times of

the Oxford movement is treated much too briefly in comparison with e. g. the personal affairs of King Henry VIII. Frederick Temple and the *Essays and Reviews*, Lightfoot and Westcott, Charles Gore and William Temple and what they stood for deserve a place even in a popular history.

The difficulties of an author who is expected to give a long story in a nutshell may be an excuse for many omissions; but an Anglican Church history without Wyclif looks like Hamlet without the Prince. The cold and technical aspect of the Constitutions of Clarendon should not have deterred the author from indicating at least the reason why Thomas Becket was murdered. Here it just happens, and King Henry II "disclaimed responsibility."

As usual in popular presentations of English Church history the contrast between England and Rome looms too large in the early parts of the story. The Anglo-Saxon Church of the early Middle Ages was no more and no less independent from Rome than the Church in France or Germany in the same period. The great mistake is that the Gregorian idea of a world-dominating papacy is so often ascribed, unhistorically, to the predecessors of Gregory VII. Anglo-Saxon England was in the same relations to Rome as any other country, with Ine of Wessex and other kings going on pilgrimages to St. Peter's grave, with Dunstan receiving his pall from Rome and the Peter's Pence being paid without resistance.

In a new edition the author should not try so hard to speak the language of the Sunday school. The ever-repeated formula, "History tells us," should disappear. On this occasion he could also correct some mistakes, as e. g., his remark about the Donation of Constantine, the date of which is by no means uncertain (between 757 and 776) or the name of the False Decretals. The famous passages in Clement and Tertullian on the Church in Britain should not be quoted without an evaluation, for which the necessary material can be found in Haddan and Stubbs.

RICHARD G. SALOMON.

*Bexley Hall,
Gambier, Ohio.*

COMMENTS BY DR. WHITMAN

It is of the Protestant-before-and-Catholic-after-the-Reformation type of apologetic that I think is inaccurate. The following is a partial list of criticisms:

- p. 4. The statements about the early liturgies, and about the Joannine authorship of Revelation are very uncertain.
- p. 5. The implication seems to be that Eusebius gives something like a complete list of pre-Nicene bishops. This should be made more clear.
- p. 6. Jerusalem was the latest of the list to obtain patriarchal dignity.

p. 11. Alexander II should be Alexander VI.

p. 12. Can the indelibility of orders, in view of the Eastern doctrine, be said to have been held always?

p. 12. 70 is too early for I Clement. The quoted statement probably has no reference to Britain, anyway.

p. 13. I do not think it accurate to speak of the "union of many of the British churches with the Roman mission"; certainly not at Hertford.

p. 14. "The Church of England was quite free from any control, etc." Unless an absurdly extreme meaning is assigned to "control" this statement is false. It should be made clear, in connection with William, that the question of the Pope's feudal sovereignty over England is quite distinct from the question of the Pope's jurisdiction over the Church.

p. 21. The extent of the changes under Henry is understated—no mention of the suppression of religious houses, the loss of legislative power by convocation, etc.

p. 22. The following differences are understated:

- (a) Between the Edwardine Prayer Books and the old services.
- (b) Between the first and second Edwardine Prayer Books.

pp. 26-27. "There were but few, etc." It ought to be pointed out that all the bishops objected.

p. 28. "In the presence of bishops, priests, noblemen and commoners"—exaggerated. The time and place of Parker's consecration are still a matter of some debate.

p. 29. The statement about the "proposition" is almost certainly false.

p. 33. "Most of them without theological education"—this is so uncertain as to be unfair to the Puritans.

p. 37. I do not think the picture is really fair to the 18th century Church.

In as small a pamphlet as this the amount of space given to the Old Catholic movement is too great. (This lack of proportion is characteristic of the whole pamphlet.) There should certainly be space given to the Anglican Communion as a whole.

W. FREEMAN WHITMAN.

*Nashotah House,
Nashotah, Wisconsin.*

NEWS NOTES

NAVY CHAPLAIN LEAVES SERVICE

The Rev. Edgar L. Pennington, S. T. D., who has been a chaplain in the United States Naval Reserve since August, 1941, has recently been relieved from active duty.

Chaplain Pennington was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve and ordered to duty first at the United States Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida. He was given leave of absence from the Church of the Holy Cross, Miami, Florida, where he had been rector for a number of years, but later, as his period of service lengthened in the Reserve, he deemed it unwise and unfair to the Church to continue on leave of absence, and, therefore, presented his resignation.

From Jacksonville, Florida, he was ordered to U. S. Naval Mobile Hospital #4, and during this period of duty had many interesting experiences and rendered splendid service at various points in the South Pacific. In New Zealand he was privileged to preach in over 30 of our churches, and was the first American Episcopal clergyman invited to assist in an Anglican ordination in New Zealand. He also preached before the General Synod of the Province and was given the honor of preaching in the Cathedral at Auckland on Independence Day. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Simpkins, bishop of Auckland, had a farewell function for the chaplain when he left and during the address spoke of his "great value as an ambassador from America to the Church in New Zealand."

From his duties in the Southwest Pacific he went to Tent City, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, where he was on duty with the United States Marine Corps, and from there to the Submarine Base, Navy #128, Hawaiian Islands.

Chaplain Pennington was released from active duty with the rank of lieutenant commander.—*The Southern Churchman*.

Editor's note: Dr. Pennington is well known to our readers as an associate editor of this Magazine, and as a valued contributor to its pages. He has recently become rector of St. John's Church, Mobile, Alabama. His address is: 205 So. Dearborn St., Mobile 21.

NUMBER OF MISSIONARIES OF THE S. P. G. AS OF APRIL 22, 1736

"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has at present 18 missionaries in New England, 1 in New Foundland,

17 at New York, 6 at New Jersey, 8 at Pennsylvania, 1 at North Carolina, 9 at South Carolina, 1 at Georgia, 1 at Bahama Islands.

"The whole of their salaries is £3,015 besides ten pounds worth of books to each missionary and five pounds worth of small tracts to be distributed among their parishioners."—*The Virginia Gazette*, September 3, 1736.

THE HALE LECTURES

The Hale Lectures on *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, by Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, will be published by Charles Scribner's Sons on March 18th. The president of the Church Historical Society, Dr. Walter H. Stowe, says of them:

"This book is a unique contribution to American Church history. Nothing like it has heretofore been published. Its biographical content is especially rich. The history of thought in the American Episcopal Church is portrayed through outstanding personalities. For every student of the Episcopal Church this is a 'must' book."

A copy will be sent by the Hale Foundation to all the American bishops and to all the Anglican bishops throughout the world. The attention of our readers is called to a brilliant review of the book in this number by Bishop E. L. Parsons.

CONTENTS

- Lighting the Altar Fire
- The Early Evangelicals
- Evangelical Doctrines
- Evangelical Worship and Ways
- Evangelical Organizations
- The Early High Churchmen
- High Church Doctrines
- The Influence of the Oxford Movement on the American Church
- The Early Catholics
- Clash and Conflict
- The Broad Church Movement
- The Later Catholics
- The Ritualistic Movement
- The Passing of the Low Churchmen
- The Liberal Catholic and the Liberal Evangelical Movements
- The Present and the Future.

BOOK REVIEWS

Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia. By George Carrington Mason. Richmond, Va. Whittet and Shepperson. 1945. Pp. 381.

Between the years 1938 and 1943 a series of articles on colonial church buildings in the Tidewater of Virginia appeared in the *William and Mary Historical Magazine*, being written by Mr. George Carrington Mason, historiographer of the diocese of Southern Virginia. They were so well done that Dr. E. G. Swem, editor of the Quarterly, went on record as saying that "it is evident at once that a new star has risen on the historical horizon of Virginia."

These articles, considerably revised and expanded by the author now appear in book form, excellently printed and abundantly illustrated. The volume covers churches on the Eastern Shore and the Southern counties of the Tidewater of Virginia. The other fifteen counties of the Tidewater will be treated in a book yet to be published. The present work embraces fifty parishes in twenty-one counties. About one hundred and eighty colonial churches are located or otherwise described, one hundred and sixty-six being of the established Church of England, the rest being meeting houses.

At the outbreak of the War of the Revolution there were about two hundred and fifty churches or chapels, of which only fifty now survive. The rest were "bereft of ministers, congregations, parish lands and financial support, and this condition was aggravated by the prejudice against the Episcopal Church as an English institution." Some were deliberately burned; others neglected till their roofs fell in and the bricks were looted for building purposes, leaving only the foundation trenches. Some escaping destruction in the Revolution met a like fate as they stood in the wake of the Federal armies in the War Between the States.

Prior to the publication of this book our knowledge, in the main, of the colonial church buildings was derived from Bishop William Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, published in book form in 1857. To a limited extent it is based on vestry records, but for the most part on the bishop's general knowledge of Virginia and on information gleaned from the older generation of Virginians. Now Mason supplements Meade. Trained as an architect and engineer, he brings his professional skill to a study of the architecture of the churches, to measurements as an aid to determining their original dimensions and to tracing out foundations, all of which is of the utmost value. The work is described as "one of the few studies of early American buildings prepared in a thoroughly scientific manner." Yet it is never dry reading. No source has been left unexplored. The records of the clerks of the courts in the counties have been drawn upon and librarians and archivists of the State have cooperated in his research, resulting in an amazing mass of interesting information covering every phase of

colonial Church life and of the early Virginia ministers. Mr. Mason reminds us that, contrary to the popular idea, the brick used in construction was not imported save in a few cases where it was utilized for architectural trim. His opening chapter on Jamestown is as interesting as it is informing. The brick church of 1639 was Gothic with massive buttresses and measured on the outside 56x28 feet.

No review of this book would be complete without more than passing mention of the value of the photographs taken by Mr. Mason and the very clear maps showing the location of the churches together with sketches of some interior arrangements, such as the third church of Lynnhaven parish (1733-1736), which shows that the first pew was assigned to the Magistrates; the second, across the aisle, to their wives; the fourth to "Ye Elder women of good Repute and y^e Magistrate's daughters." The church had a gallery at the west end. There are also ten plates of doorways.

Enough has been said in this review to indicate the extraordinary value of this book. It is a permanent contribution to the history of a period which marked the beginnings of the Church in what is now the Commonwealth of Virginia and the United States of America.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

English Church Design, 1040 to 1540. By F. H. Crossley. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 15 North Audley Street, W. 1. 12s. 6d. net.

This book is a treasure. Every churchman should possess it. It will appeal no less to our American friends than to ourselves, for we are all sharers in a common and delightful heritage. English speaking folk are getting more and more to realize that our ancient churches are not only to be valued for their beauty and historic interest, but as houses of God, places of living worship. The best cared for churches are those that not only tell the story of the religious and every day life of a bygone age, but also contribute to the spiritual life of today and tomorrow.

Mr. Crossley deals out some well deserved criticisms to those misguided Victorians whose soulless "restorations" have long been the despair of all lovers of the greatest art. He also gives due appreciation to much that those Victorians were unable to value—the great west front of Wells, with its sermons in stone, the transformed choir of Gloucester, and the later developments of the perpendicular period. He writes with a sure and helpful touch of the loveliness of the work of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and of the grace and dignity of the fifteenth.

Our present age may perhaps become known as a great church building period, with its need for new churches in our growing cities as well as the replacement of buildings destroyed through air raids. Mr. Crossley's book should be an inspiration to architects in their endeavour to provide buildings worthy of the worship of Almighty God and uplifting to the minds of the worshipper.

The format of this volume is excellent and the illustrations are

a joy to the eye. The frontispiece is a charming reproduction of a water color of Dundry Church, Somerset, by J. C. Buckler, much of whose work is in the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

Stewards of the Mysteries of God. By R. D. Middleton. Dacre Press, Westminster. 2s. 6d.

We cannot have too many good treatises dealing with the office and work of a priest in the Church of God. In this country last year saw the publication of the Rev. W. Norman Pittenger's brochure, *Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ*, and Bishop Conkling's *Priesthood in Action*—excellent works, both of them, which deserve to be read and digested by all who are contemplating and preparing for holy orders and by all of the younger clergy, regardless of the schools of churchmanship to which they adhere.

The present booklet by the Rev. R. D. Middleton, vicar of St. Margaret's, Oxford, appeared (most of it) in the pages of *The Guardian* in 1942 and 1943, and has more recently been issued by the Dacre Press. Mr. Middleton stands in the Tractarian tradition, many of whose leaders are aptly quoted in these pages. Like Canon W. C. E. Newbolt's books, *Speculum Sacerdotum* and *Priestly Ideals*, this little book stresses the inner life of the priest—and herein lies its chief value for us American clergy, many of whom must confess that we have permitted this aspect of our priesthood to suffer amid the pressure of administrative detail and that "activism" so characteristic of American Christianity in all its forms. Mr. Middleton quotes someone as saying, "Many men who can read theology with concentration for three hours cannot spend half an hour in mental prayer, yet of the two accomplishments the second is more essential to a man of God. And, like the first, it can only be acquired by training." And our author comments, "This half-hour, or whatever the period may be, is vital to the life of the priest. It should, if possible, be given a place before the Holy Eucharist, or at least immediately after it. No letters should be opened and no conversation be permitted until this time of quiet has been spent. Here will be the incentive to early rising and early retiring which are part of the disciplined life."

Besides the chapter on "The Priest in His Inner Life," there are short chapters on "The Priest in the Study," "The Priest in the Sanctuary," "The Priest in the Pulpit," "Personal Dealings with Individuals," "The Priest and Young People," and a brief Conclusion—the whole forming an excellent commentary on the significance of the ordination vows. Like "Feed My Sheep," the symposium edited nineteen years ago by Francis Underhill, late bishop of Bath and Wells, this little work presupposes the background of the English Church and English conditions, but the author says much which we American clergy may well take to heart and adapt as best we may to the very different conditions in

which we exercise our priesthood. Here and there, of course, we shall take issue with him (as the present reviewer must do with his remarks on written sermons). But we hope we have given enough of the flavor of this little book to induce many of our clergy to possess themselves of a copy for Embertide reading and self-examination.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Frank H. Nelson of Cincinnati. By Warren C. Herrick with a Foreword by Charles P. Taft. Louisville. The Cloister Press. 1945. Pp. 110.

This comparatively brief biography outlines the large story of the ministry of forty years of Frank H. Nelson as rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, which, under his direction, became a force for righteousness. Educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, he graduated from Hobart College, *Magna Cum Laude*, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and from the General Theological Seminary, where he became president of his class. For five years he served on the staff of St. George's Church, New York City, under Dr. William S. Rainsford, of whom it was said that "he has seen the Christ, and has shown Him to men." These were the formative years of Nelson's life and Rainsford's influence followed him through all the years of his ministry. In 1898 Rainsford was instrumental in sending his assistant, the Rev. Alexis Stein, to be rector of Christ Church, and a little later Frank Nelson as his colleague. Rainsford described Stein as "the ablest preacher of his age in our Church," and Nelson as "a strong, capable man, full of energy and charm and a first class organizer." Nelson said of Stein, "He loved God and showed Him to men; he loved men and led them to God." Christ Church was a downtown parish, the mother church of the city, but men said it had seen its best days. Unfortunately, Stein was stricken with tuberculosis, and Frank Nelson succeeded him as rector.

The story of the forty years of his life and work is told in this volume by one who was a former assistant. It is told with impelling charm; admirably proportioned. Mr. Herrick is sympathetic, but discriminating. He has given us a biography which comes pretty close to being perfect. It etches the portrait of a man whose ministry was many-sided. Frank Nelson made Christ Church "a place where the rich and the poor met on equal terms." He was a Broad Churchman; a pastor to whom nothing human was foreign; a leader in social reform who came to be regarded as an outstanding citizen. It is on record that a taxicab driver said: "Frank Nelson was sure a real man. If you had a million dollars you got a fifteen minute funeral service; if you had twenty-five cents you got a fifteen minute service." The keynote of his ministry is found in two of his own sayings: "The Church is the Body of Christ, not a club, to minister, and not to be ministered to. The people all about us, the whole city, are our concern, to bring them the Gospel of Christ." The other saying sheds light upon his churchmanship: "The Creed ought to be on the altar, not at the door of the Church."

For forty years he labored in season and out of season. Then came the end. Mr. Herrick aptly quotes the verse from Matthew Arnold's poem, *Rugby Chapel*:

"Therefore, to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself;
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd! to come,
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

In the judgment of this reviewer this little volume should be read and pondered by every young minister of this Church.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Man Who Wanted to Know. By James W. Kennedy. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1944. Pp. 160.

Every parish has men and women who want to know something definite about religion. They are troubled about their vagueness concerning what they regard as a vital need. Services and sermons are good as far as they go, but the outstanding need is a school of religion. Mr. Kennedy's book is an excellent manual for such a school. It centers round a series of lectures and discussions on such subjects, "The Bible as an Instrument of Use in Living Our Utmost," "Towards an Effective Prayer Life," "Basic Beliefs Every Christian Must Hold," "The Person of Christ," "The Practice of the Presence of the Christ-God's Spirit," "The Strategy of Jesus." In a very happy fashion the book sets forth the experience of a Mr. Jones, who attended such a school of religion. It has a very human touch. It reads almost like a novel, but behind it is a good deal of hard study and will prove an admirable guide to parish instructors in such schools. Nine books are suggested for reading. The second lecture contains sixty-two Biblical references. The world stands in great need of a teaching ministry always provided that the people are given an opportunity to discuss the topics. For such a ministry Mr. Kennedy's book abounds in helpful suggestions based upon his own experience. It is abundantly worth while.

L. F. BALLARD.

Where Art Thou? By C. Avery Mason. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1945. Pp. 152.

Bishop Mason writes a brief but impassioned plea for Christians to "color, change and channel the ponderous stream of life for centuries to come." This challenge is more vital today than ever. There is an excellent chapter on Christian Nurture; another on The Social Implications of Christian Worship. The author protests against the widespread notion that "the Christian life is an individual matter," declaring

that the gospel "knows nothing of Christianity apart from the Christian community." The book is hard-hitting; a challenge to answer God's call to spread the Christian community, the one answer to secular individualism and all its attendant evils. Bishop Mason closes with the statement that Christians "are called upon to build a new world for Christ," and that building will be done "by those whose foreheads are branded by the sign of the Cross in Baptism and by those who have been quickened by the Holy Spirit."

L. F. BALLARD.

His Body the Church. The Bohlen Lectures for 1945. By W. Norman Pittenger. Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York.

An unusually interesting and scholarly work on the nature of the Christian Church by one of the younger theologians of the Episcopal Church, and written, confessedly, from an Anglo-Catholic point of view. The author, a fellow and tutor at the General Theological Seminary in New York, and lecturer in the department of religion at Columbia University, finds in the thought of the times, and especially in the movements toward ecumenicity and the liturgical revival, concern for the preservation of the Church's historic tradition, theology and worship. His purpose in writing is to further the great cause of Christian unity, not by minimizing differences and convictions, but by stating without "*odium theologicum*" the essential catholic position in the interest of clarity and comprehension. Such a study is also important at this time because some older conceptions seem to have lost their power of appeal, due to the findings of biblical and historical criticism. With modesty he disclaims any new and novel approach; desiring only to try and put the old truth of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church in a new way.

His argument for the Church as a divine creation is based chiefly on the witness of the New Testament and the testimony of early Christianity in general. St. Paul's analogy about the old and new covenants is used to show how the Church antedated the Incarnation. He makes no plea for the dominical institution of the Church, which certainly is a modern and not a traditional approach. Primitive Christians saw in Christ and His work an act of God on the plane of history, and the "residual significance" of that fact was the fact of the Church, and since it was the Church is "as much part of the Gospel as is the Lord Himself." If the Gospel is the good news of God's mighty act of redemption, and if the Church is not only the carrier of that message, but the result of that act, then the benefits of salvation are now to be found solely within the Church. Indeed, "in a true and important sense the Church is very redemption itself." It is apparent he regards the office and function of Christ and the Church as virtually identical. He says: "The supreme and crucial act of God for men is not Christ alone, nor is it Christ and His Church." It is both. And again: "The New Testament makes it clear that the way in which one became a Christian believer in primitive times, and hence a participant in the Christian life,

was by becoming a member of the Christian society." In other words: there was created from the disciples and followers of Jesus a living, visible community to be the carrier of the message and the institutional medium of salvation.

The most perfect expression of the nature of the Church is found in St. Paul's phrase, "His body the Church." As a metaphor it has its limitations, but it is no mere figure of speech. To the Apostle it adequately describes the true character of the Christian community. Among other things it indicates that it is "a living and visible organism, an instrumental agent, a vehicle of expression, a means of persisting identity and outward-moving action, a way in which some spiritual reality manages to make itself known." In this manner Christ uses the Church, not alone to accomplish man's redemption, but also to shape its dogmatic affirmations, its worship, and to give skeletal form to its ministry. Perhaps it will be easy to see how old-time Evangelicals, with their proclamation that the way of salvation is through repentance toward God and faith in our Lord, will demur at this, and express their surprise that anyone should venture to build such an elaborate superstructure on so frail a foundation as a metaphor, even one selected by an Apostle.

On the other hand, because the Church is a body, growth and development are possible. But it must be growth which does not go back upon its own past. No fundamental element of traditional Christianity can be discarded—only the fuller development of that which now and always has existed.

When the writer discusses the so-called "notes" of the Church, which occupy four well-written chapters, there appears a strongly conservative trend, blended somewhat intriguingly with a disposition to accept the findings of modern biblical scholarship, if they do not contravene or imperil traditional conceptions; where they do, they are either ignored, explained away or forthwith rejected. The tone of the discussion, where opposing views are encountered, i. e., those who believe in an invisible church or have surrendered some part of the historic faith, is kindly and considerate, but firm and uncompromising. As the basis of unity among the Churches the author would add to the terms of the Lambeth Quadrilateral the sacrament of absolution and penance as the means of maintaining holiness among Christians. All those who refuse to acknowledge or accept these vital elements of the faith, though in the main stream of historic Christianity, both impede and imperil the unity of the Church by their attitude of intransigence. The authority of the Church is a moral authority—*auctoritas not imperium*. The "locus" of authority is in the episcopate, but only as the mouthpiece of the total Christian consciousness. Apostolic Succession, when properly understood, is of the very essence of the Church life. Ignatius' dictum is approved: "Where the bishop is there is the Catholic Church," all other things being equal. In the Papacy there is neither true nor false development, only mistaken and unwieldy over-development. Any discussion of reunion which fails to embrace Rome is self-condemned.

On the whole the catholic position is expressed with force, freshness and sincerity. Whether it is convincing will depend on the reader's predilections. In any case the author is a protagonist of skill, learning

and logical dexterity. Doubtless his arguments are as strong as it is possible to assemble for the position he supports. But, as generally understood, this is not Anglicanism. It is Anglo-Catholicism, and in the main can scarcely be distinguished from the Roman doctrine of the Church.

HERBERT HAIGH BROWN.

THE REV. H. R. T. BRANDRETH ON CHURCH UNITY

Unity and Reunion: A Bibliography. By Henry R. T. Brandreth. Adam and Charles Black. London. 1945. xxxii+159 pp. 12s 6d.

Mr. Brandreth has given the student of the problems of Church unity an invaluable and indispensable work of reference. The book is a comprehensive survey of the literature on the visible unity and reunion of Christendom published since the beginning of the last century. Nearly twelve hundred books, pamphlets and periodicals are listed, conveniently classified under such headings as Reports and Documents of Official Conferences, Catholic Reunion (and here writings on each side are grouped Roman-Orthodox, Orthodox-Old Catholic, Anglican-Roman, Anglican-Orthodox, Anglican-Old Catholic), Protestant Reunion (again grouped Protestant-Anglican, Inter-Protestant), General Works and Histories, Special Periods, etc. The system of classification is excellent. In few bibliographies can the reader so readily find the books on the particular aspect of the subject he desires to pursue. The careful indexes of authors and subjects supplement this useful classification.

A brief introduction summarizes the chief reunion movement of the last century. Mr. Brandreth has annotated those items in the bibliography where the nature and scope of the works are not clear from the titles alone. Both the introduction and these brief notes on the contents of books are written from an impartial point of view. Mr. Brandreth deserves the gratitude of all who are coming today to the cause of Christian unity with a new seriousness and sense of urgency. His interest in the subject and his painstaking care have given us a book without recourse to which no one can embark upon an intelligent study of the reunion of Christendom.

P. M. DAWLEY.

*Professor of Church History,
General Theological Seminary.*

An American Plan for Unity: A Study of the Anglican-Presbyterian Negotiations in America. By Henry R. T. Brandreth. Pax House, London. (Published for the Council for the Defense of Church Principles.) 20 pp.

This slight publication is a tract, summarizing for English readers the negotiations which have been conducted since 1937 between the

Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Mr. Brandreth devotes himself chiefly to a critical examination of the document, *Basic Principles*, which was appended to the majority report of the Commission on Approaches to Unity received at the last General Convention. Little is said in criticism of *Basic Principles* not already familiar to us in this country, though his points of comparison with the South India Scheme are enlightening. The most interesting sections of the tract are those in which the author discusses the historical doctrines of the episcopate (which Mr. Brandreth regards as surrendered in *Basic Principles*), and the confusion as to the meaning and intention of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It might perhaps be worth pointing out in this last connection that those who presume to say what the framers of the Lambeth Quadrilateral meant would do well to consult a collection of papers reprinted from the *Church Review* for April and October, 1890, entitled, *Church Reunion Discussed on the Basis of the Lambeth Propositions of 1888*.

P. M. DAWLEY.

Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History. By Babette May Levy. American Society of Church History, Hartford, Connecticut. 1945. Pp. vii+215. \$3.00.

This is a most rewarding study. The author has sharply defined the field of inquiry and has clearly divided the area selected into fitting subdivisions for closer scrutiny. However, the clarity of her study of the sharply defined field embodies a rich fullness of understanding. As she focuses attention on the life and function of the preacher in early New England, she is constantly aware of the larger field of history to which this period is related, and of the manifold life in which the preachers of this period moved and worked. Thus the study of New England brings information and interpretation of old England, and the acquaintance with the preacher gives one new understanding of the social life, the political framework, and the general intellectual climate in which the preacher moved.

The setting and awareness of the larger and varied context in which early New England preaching developed, does not, however, in this study blunt the edge of the specific inquiry into the preaching itself. The study takes us to the preacher's desk, into his pulpit and into the whole area of ecclesiastical interests and of theological concern. It shows us the impact of the sermon on the total emerging social and political life of the community, as well as its power as an utterance within the church.

The scope of the inquiry is clearly indicated in the chapter titles:

- I. The Background and Preparation of the Preachers.
- II. The Doctrine as It Was Preached.
- III. Success: The Puritan Road to Damnation.
- IV. Practical Teaching: Politics and War.
- V. The Form of the Sermon.

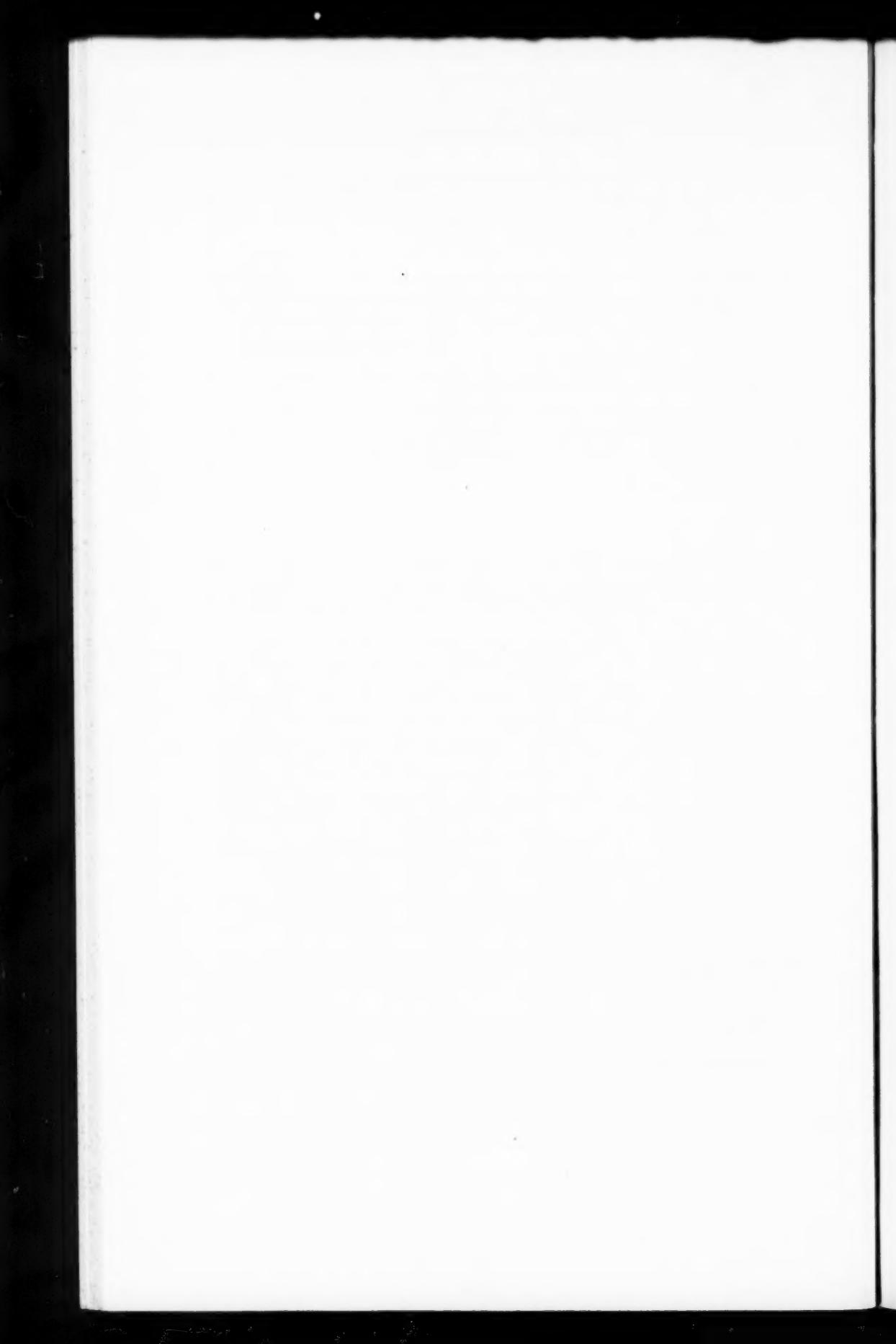
- VI. Sermonic Similitudes: A Sidelight Upon the Puritan Mind.
- VII. The Plain Style and Its Variations.
- VIII. The Reception of the Sermon.

The study also carries an extensive bibliography.

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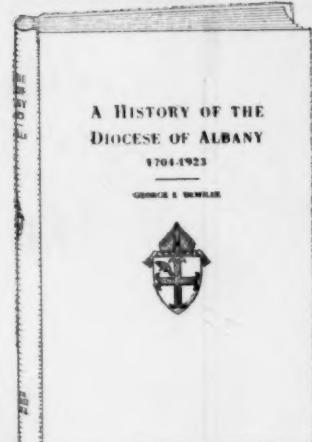
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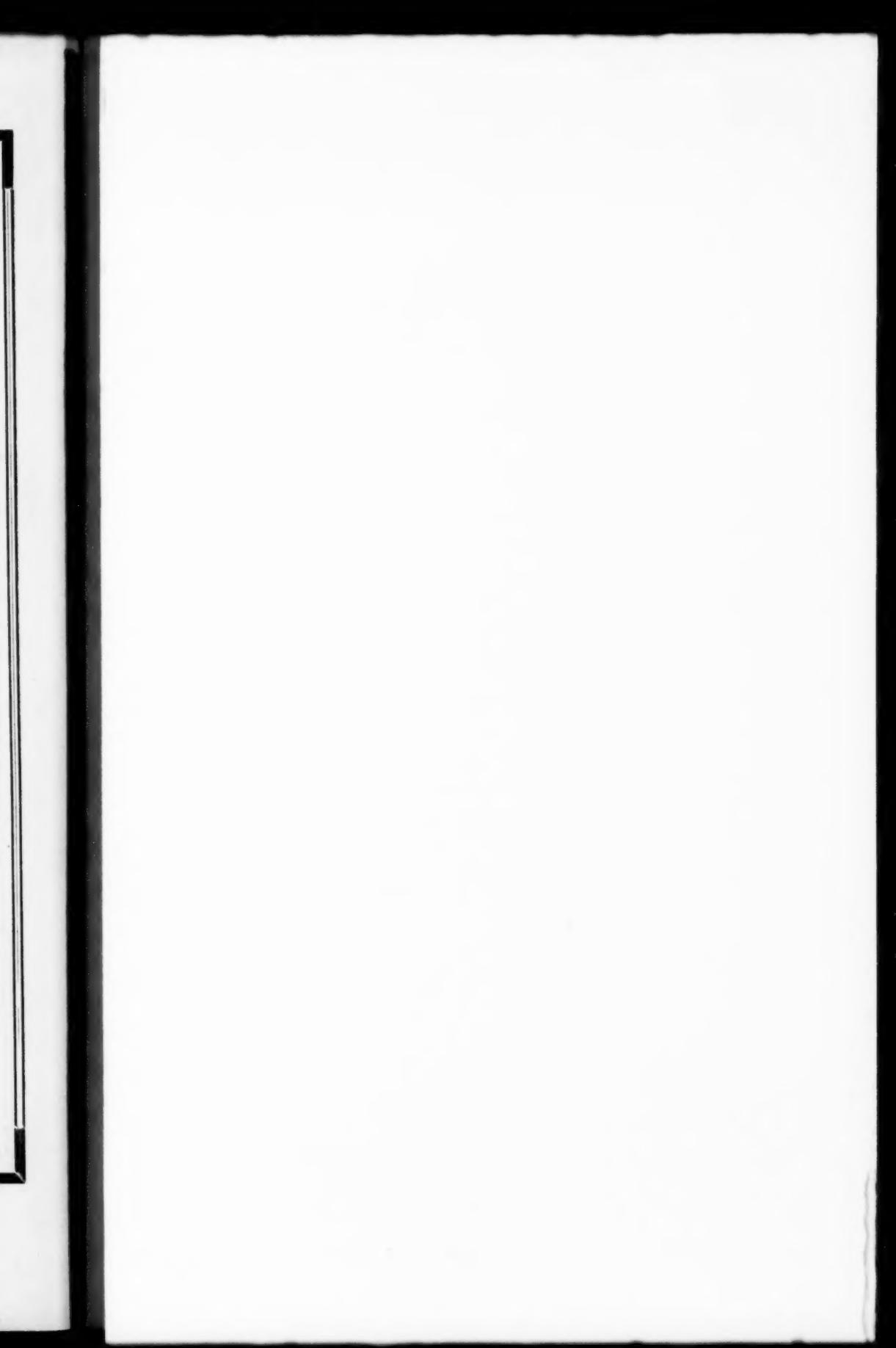
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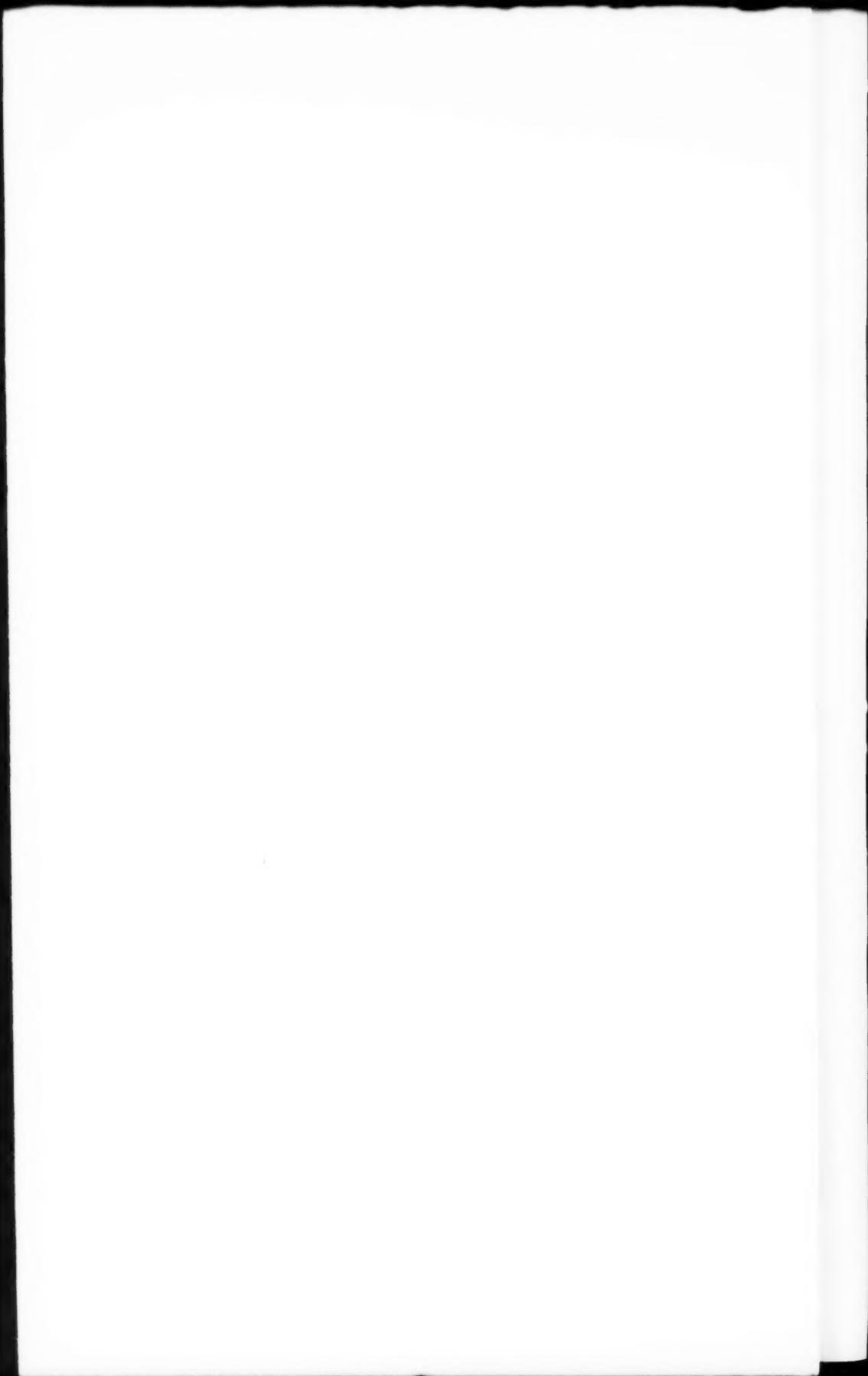
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